The World Tomorrow

MAY, 1932

The Socialists Face Their Test

McAlister Coleman

Penitence and Social Progress

Kirby Page

Needed: A Rubber-Stamp Senate

Robert Moulton Gatke

Norman Thomas's "As I See It"—*reviewed by Paul H. Douglas*; Glenn Frank's "Thunder and Dawn"—*reviewed by Reinhold Niebuhr*

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The World Tomorrow

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE WORLD TOMORROW, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1932.

State of New York, }
County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and country aforesaid, personally appeared A. Albert MacLeod, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Executive Editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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A. ALBERT MACLEOD,
Executive Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of March, 1932.
(Signed) HELEN LESCHORN,
(Commission expires March 30, 1933.)
Notary Public, New York Co., N. Y.
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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XV May, 1932 No. 5

Editorials

The German Elections

The reelection of President Hindenburg and the subsequent local elections in the various states of Germany have given the parliamentary forces of Germany a victory, but a very narrow one. The increase of the Fascist vote in the presidential election and the narrow margin by which the middle parties hold most of the state governments mean that in several of them, particularly in the all-important Prussian Diet, their coalition can be overthrown by a combination of Nationalist, Fascist and Communist votes. In the Prussian elections the Socialists lost forty-four seats, and the combined vote of the parliamentary parties is only 172 against 162 for the Fascists and 57 for the Communists. Since Prussia constitutes two-thirds of the German Reich and since the Socialist-Catholic government which has lasted in Prussia for eight years contributed to a very considerable degree to the stability of the whole Reich, it may be seen that the election of April 24 has seriously imperiled the stability of the parliamentary scheme as it now exists. Hindenburg's election guarantees the loyalty of the Reichswehr, but the stringent laws against Fascist party manoeuvers in Prussia will undoubtedly be rescinded.

Since it is quite within the conventional policy of the Communist party to unite with even the bitterest foe if a middle class government can be destroyed by such tactics, the Prussian government may be unable to achieve any degree of stability. Most likely a Nationalist-Fascist coalition will be attempted, though such a combination can be defeated by a combination of Socialist and Communist votes.

On the whole, the elections have tended strongly to destroy the middle ground between the radical and the reactionary parties. The possibility of Nationalist-Fascist combinations will inevitably force the consideration of a Socialist-Communist "united front." It will be difficult to achieve such a union since these parties have been opposing each other bitterly for years. Probably the enmity between them will prevent any effective united action for some time to come. But the whole logic of the situation will force such a union ultimately. The Socialists lost a million votes in the elections of April 24, and this fact alone will make their party less ready to maintain coalitions with the middle class parties and force it to abandon its moderate policies of the past decade.

Should Prussia become the football of Left and Right coalitions, neither of which could organize a government strong enough to maintain itself against all opposition and both of which would be strong enough to put any opposing government out of office, it is quite within the realm of possibilities that the resulting confusion would be the occasion for either a Fascist or Communist revolutionary venture.

The situation is much graver than the overwhelming election of Hindenburg has led world opinion to suppose. Prophecy is hazardous, but it will be well to watch events in Germany very carefully. Anything may happen there within the next few months.

The Socialist Party

The sweeping victory of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee, where Mayor Hoan was reelected by a two to one vote and the party increased its strength in the board of aldermen from six to twelve and in the board of supervisors from six to nine, is a straw which shows that the wind is blowing in the direction of radical political thought. Milwaukee, of course, has been a socialist city for a long time, and it is not to be supposed that many other cities would give socialism such support. Nevertheless, it is gratifying that this overwhelming victory is achieved in a city where the electorate has had many years in which to test the party's principles, and that these principles will in all likelihood carry Milwaukee farther along the paths of socialism than any large American city has yet ventured. If Mayor Hoan's program is carried out—and the effective Socialist control of the city government indicates that it will be—the city of Milwaukee will engage in the business of selling coke and possibly milk and coal "when necessary to prevent unreasonable hold-ups in prices on the necessities of life"; a municipal bank will be established, and the six-hour day will be in effect for city employees. Such concrete progress, coming just at this time, should do much to hearten the morale of the entire socialist movement.

Inter-party difficulties have been reduced to a mini-

mum, and there are now good prospects that the party will nominate Norman Thomas at Milwaukee unanimously and will prepare for an energetic campaign which ought to yield well over a million votes. If the million votes are not forthcoming, it will mean either that the American people are absolutely unable to achieve political maturity in the next decade or that the Socialist Party for some reason or other has the wrong strategy or the wrong philosophy to express the needs of the workers of the country. We are more inclined to hold to the former thesis than to the latter, but we hope that neither will be required to explain the facts. We think there is a fair chance of giving the socialist movement a new lease on life and power in the coming election. We are so certain that the problems of our civilization can be dealt with only in socialist terms that we are not inclined to welcome the emergence of any third party in the field, unless it commits itself to unambiguous socialist strategy.

We hope therefore that the League for Independent Political Action will not make the mistake of putting a ticket of its own in the field. If it has a place in the American political scene, it must be as an educational agency for socialism. If it decides to make socialism more acceptable to American middle class prejudices by obscuring or diluting socialist principles, the result will be merely another abortive effort to build a new party. We do not suggest that the lower middle classes as a whole should not express their political discontent. Perhaps it is inevitable that they do so. We would prefer to have them do it in a political party which is rooted in the economic interests of the workers rather than in terms which are purely middle class. The middle class alone cannot produce a social reorganization significant enough to matter. It it attempts to do so, it will merely repeat errors and engage in futilities which the history of other industrial nations has fully revealed.

Militarists and Anti-militarists

In a very interesting editorial in a recent issue of the British weekly, *Time and Tide,* Mr. Norman Angell calls attention to the strange circumstance that most of the jingoes and militarists have criticized the League of Nations because the Assembly's policy toward Japan carries the risk of war with it, while the peace workers have generally supported the policy of the League or have criticized it for being too lenient with Japan. Mr. Angell singles out the Beaverbrook, Rothermere and Hearst press particularly as examples of jingo opinion, professing to worry about the possibilities of war involved in any League policy which would apply sanctions to Japan, though these newspapers never before betrayed a tender conscience in regard to war.

The fact that frankly imperialistic and nationalistic newspapers should be so anxious to prevent the League of Nations from dealing realistically with Japanese imperialism ought to give some pause to pacifists who regard the application of any sanction as the equivalent of war. It ought to prompt them to re-examine their attitudes. If they do so, they might answer the question whether they believe it is possible to deal politically with any problem, either international or intranational, without the use of coercion. Does not the squeamishness of pacifists who regard the application of any kind of coercion as the equivalent of violence play into the hands of those who wish to resort to violence for the attainment of social and national ends? The ends of society can never wait upon the purely voluntary acceptance of its decrees by individuals and nations, and its harmony can never be secured merely by the conversion of recalcitrant individuals and groups. All government involves coercion. If society is wise it will not use more coercion than is absolutely necessary, and it will use educational methods to create attitudes of consent even while it applies coercion. But if it regards the application of any kind of sanction as the equivalent of war, it will merely give leave to the anti-social individual and nation to make war upon society. The logic of most of the arguments which have been advanced against the use of coercion in the Sino-Japanese conflict leads straight to anarchism. Are liberal journals and organizations which have inclined to absolute non-resistance in dealing with the problem of the Orient prepared to espouse the cause of anarchism in all political questions?

Block-Aid Versus Taxation

Reports from every part of the country prove that the relief situation in most of the major cities of the nation is again approaching a crisis. Most of the private relief funds will be exhausted about May 1. The block-aid movement, begun in New York and rapidly spreading over the country, was designed to avert the catastrophe which impends through the exhaustion of such resources. It will probably provide a trickle of funds through the summer, and a major crisis will be upon us again in the fall and winter. The fresh decline in stocks and bonds during the past weeks proves that the end of the deflation movement has not yet been reached.

In view of this situation every effort must be made to arouse the country to a demand for federal taxation adequate for the emergency. The claim of Secretary Mills that added taxation would aggravate the crisis by withdrawing money from productive enterprise is pure knavery. Everyone knows that money for consumption is a much greater necessity in the present moment than money for production. Mills and factories are standing idle not because there is no money

to start production but because there is no money to buy the products.

All liberal and radical organizations ought to be much more active than they are in dramatizing the needs of the unemployed through proper demonstrations. An ignorant public must be taught just what this crisis means in the lives of the poor. We have never criticized any policy or attitude of Norman Thomas, but we are inclined to believe that he made a tactical blunder in giving his blessing to the block-aid movement. The newspapers were bound to omit the critical remarks which he made about the movement in his radio address and to underscore his endorsement. We do not say that people with good incomes who know that those incomes ought to be taxed more heavily than they are should not contribute to the block-aid movement or any other philanthropic endeavor which prevents starvation, in the absence of more adequate programs of social legislation. But inasmuch as the block-aid movement falls with particular weight upon the workers, whose income is already reduced to a minimum, and is designed to obscure the social realities and prevent an adequate federal relief program, it ought to be frustrated. It certainly ought not to be endorsed by any leader of the labor movement.

The time has probably come when liberals and radicals will have to oppose all the palliatives even though their opposition may cause momentary confusion and suffering. We simply cannot afford to go into the fourth winter of depression without an adequate taxation program, and every political strategy must be measured in terms of its contribution to that cause.

Outrageous Judicial Tyranny

Judge Arthur L. Wilder, of the City Court in Rochester, is doing his best to prove that the communists are correct in saying that the courts are tools of capitalism, and that only by violence can the new society be created. Recent action on his part is worth more to the communists than weeks of agitation and tons of propaganda.

The judge imprisoned three young women, members of the United Front Youth Anti-War Committee, affiliated with the Communist party, for passing out anti-war literature in front of an armory where a meeting of the Citizens' Military Training Camp members was being held. The prisoners were subjected to a psychological and pathological examination, and permission to see visitors during incarceration was refused.

The ordinance under which conviction was secured embraces the following: "Bill posting and distributing, or sign advertising which shall be construed to cover the act of going upon any public street, into residences, or places of business for the purpose of circulating advertising of any kind or posting or painting advertising of any nature whatsoever, except notices required by law." In response to the argument of counsel for the defendants, the judge replied: "I should say this is fundamental advertising to upset commercial and financial organization. I find the defendants guilty as charged."

When a symbol of the majesty of the law descends to such a disgraceful level of prejudice and passion, it is high time for thoughtful citizens to protest to the high heavens. Fortunately, the judge's tyranny was widely condemned in Rochester. Public denunciations were made by Rev. Orlo J. Price, Rev. David Rhys Williams, Rev. Justin W. Nixon, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, and other public spirited citizens. The young people of Genesee Baptist Church passed a ringing resolution of dissent and urged freedom of speech.

The communists may be regarded as obnoxious, and their tenets looked upon as menacing, but liberty to speak and write freely is the price of orderly progress.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Roosevelt

The Democratic Party, which in its support of the sales tax proposal offered us one glaring example of its real color as a liberal party, has recently given more evidence of its true political character. Mr. Roosevelt made a very guarded address in which he favored the interests of the "little man," without becoming specific enough in any detailed political proposal to alienate the "big men" whom Mr. Raskob is trying to dragoon into the party. Guarded and harmless as the statement was, it aroused the ire of Al Smith, who took occasion at the Jefferson day banquet to threaten opposition to any Democratic candidate who made demagogic appeals to the poor against the rich. Mr. Smith implied that such appeals would disturb the perfect equanimity of our political life and throw the apple of discord into what is now a harmonious family scene. He gave it as his profound opinion that the government should be fair to both the rich and the poor.

Mr. Smith has surely been in politics long enough to know that no rich man regards any political measure as fair which tends to lessen the differences in power and privilege which exist between rich and poor. Yet any political measure which does not do this is bound to be inadequate to the present emergency and to the whole problem of our Western society as well. When some twelve million people face terrible destitution or actual starvation and the rich resist every effort to tap their revenues for the support of these starving multitudes, Al Smith's bland remarks about fairness to everyone must be put into the category of political knavery. We have never thought of Mr. Smith as a great political leader though we believe that he did reveal great executive gifts as Governor of New York. But his recent increasing subservience to the politics of Mr. Raskob, probably dictated unconsciously by his economic dependence upon that gentleman, either re-

veals his true political stature or proves that he has deteriorated in the years since his presidential candidacy. After all, however, the characters of Mr. Smith and Mr. Roosevelt are but incidental revelations of the quality of the idealism and realism which lives in the political party of which they are the conspicuous leaders. We say again: Give us Hoover and unashamed reaction rather than this kind of bogus liberalism.

Shallow Religion

"America has beaten nineteen major depressions. She will beat this one." This is the slogan which the National Publishers Association is using to bolster the badly shaken morale of the nation, presumably upon the assumption that the depression is due to psychological causes and can be conquered if a sufficient amount of optimism can be engendered. "Good times follow hard times as surely as the day follows the night. Prosperity always comes back. It is coming back this time." So the absent treatment lesson in optimism by the publishers continues. The net effect of such a statement, if it has any effect, is to tempt people to think less tragically of the difficulties in which they stand and therefore to be less prepared for the fundamental changes which the convalescence of our civilization requires than they ought to be.

One has learned to expect the organized church to differentiate its gospel only very slightly from the current prejudices and obsessions of an age. One ought not to be surprised therefore when the American Missionary Association prints an advertisement which faithfully copies the publishers' blurb with only a slight addition: "America has beaten nineteen major depressions. She will beat this one. So will the churches." So the missionary ad runs. That represents a rather cheap and futile optimism. Akin to it in spirit is the plea of the Church Federation of New York for an adequate Pentecost celebration, so that people may learn again to "smile and rejoice." That is reading religion down to the lowest possible level. If it is to help people to smile and rejoice without prompting them to think profoundly upon the tragic aspects of life and to engage in its difficult tasks, the vaudeville show and Will Rogers will do as well as the church.

News From the Kentucky Front

Harlan County and Bell County in Kentucky are at present running well out in front in the race for notoriety as the most ruthless and tyrannical spots in the United States, in spite of vigorous competition. Taking visitors for a ride is a favorite outdoor sport in this section. James Price, representative of the I. W. W., was one of the recent guests who were given a free excursion. Five students from Commonwealth College, a workers' institution in Arkansas, were accorded an uninvited escort across the Virginia line after having been brutally beaten.

Now comes a challenge from Walter B. Smith, prosecutor of Bell County, to Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, to set his sacrilegious foot upon the sacred soil of this imperiled county. Mr. Hays accepts the dare, and proposes to make a visit of inspection of mining conditions in that section. He will probably be accompanied by several other public spirited citizens.

Mr. Smith asked Mr. Hays a long series of questions concerning the latter's attitude toward marriage, children, private property, treason, criminal assault, inheritance, communism, Soviet Russia, capital punishment, and state's rights. To which rejoinder was made that a man's opinions on these subjects are irrelevant to the question as to whether he has a right to travel without molestation in any part of the nation. Mr. Hays rightly distinguishes between direct incitation to unlawful action and the expression of opinions that do not lead directly to violence or other illegal conduct.

The statement cannot be made too vigorously or repeated too often, that freedom of speech and press, even for communists and other believers in violence, however sharply we may dissent from those opinions and however perilous to society they may appear to us, is absolutely essential to the pacific transformation of our social order. Overt acts of lawlessness must be punished, but the expression of opinions must be untrammeled.

The Militarists Are At It Again

Late in May, Southern Michigan is to witness a four-day battle between "American troops" and an invading "Red Army." Citizens of Lansing were recently invited to a dinner at which Major Rosecrans, "Lansing's best trained strategist," described the approaching battle. "Months have been devoted to working out the preliminaries of a battle problem."

It seems incredible that at this late day peace loving citizens should tolerate such a waste of tax-payers' money and such an inflammatory incitation to fear and enmity of other peoples. Especially significant is the assumption that the Red Army of Russia is to be the invader, or perhaps it is a mere coincidence that the invading force is red!

Scene Two: Colonel Orvel Johnson is on the war path again. As the executive secretary of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps Association, he recently sent out another broadside in which the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, and several other organizations are bitterly denounced for advocating reductions in military and naval appropriations. This professional patrioteer brands these agencies as "pacifists, war re-

sisters, atheists, socialists, communists, un-American, and anti-American."

The effort to classify opponents of military preparedness as enemies of society is so pusillanimous and contemptible as to be unworthy of notice, except for the fact that the public is extremely gullible. The Federal Council of Churches needs no defense where its record is known, but all across the land many pious Christians are swallowing this vicious propaganda which portrays its officials as imps of darkness. The question which needs to be faced by peace-loving individuals is this: How can we secure orderly progress if the public in general continues to devour demonstrable falsehoods blackguarding highminded and patriotic citizens?

The Crime Current Sweeps On

We are confronted not with a crime wave, but with a turbulent stream of crime, rolling relentlessly on. Twelve thousand persons were murdered in the United States during 1931, the ratio being just under eleven per hundred thousand population, according to the authoritative annual survey recently published by Dr. Frederick Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company.

The homicide rate in this country has risen from 5.1 in 1900, to 8.5 in 1920, to 10.8 in 1931. This latter percentage is more than three times as high as the average in 53 foreign cities. The comparative figure for 14 leading Canadian cities is 1.6, for London 0.8, and for Liverpool 0.5. That is to say, for every 8 deaths from homicide per million population in London, there were 83 in New York City, and 141 in Chicago.

Moreover, detailed figures show conclusively that crime in America is not due primarily to "foreigners." The cities with the highest ratio per 100,000 population are listed by Dr. Hoffman as follows:

1. Birmingham, Ala.	54.9	7. Little Rock, Ark.	40.4
2. Memphis, Tenn.	52.2	8. Lexington, Ky.	36.8
3. Atlanta, Ga.	49.5	9. Nashville, Tenn.	36.7
4. Jacksonville, Fla.	48.5	10. Mobile, Ala.	34.7
5. Macon, Ga.	44.5	11. Miami, Fla.	33.2
6. Montgomery, Ala.	42.8	12. Savannah, Ga.	30.5
		13. Gary, Ind.	30.2

That is to say, of the twelve cities with the highest murder rate, three are in Alabama, three in Georgia, two in Tennessee, two in Florida, one in Arkansas, and one in Kentucky. As compared with the rate of 54.9 in Birmingham, the percentage in Chicago is 14.1, Detroit 10.8, New York City 8.3, Philadelphia 7.2, Los Angeles 7.0, Boston 3.6, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1.8; Fall River, Massachusetts, 1.7; Providence, Rhode Island, 1.2.

This data should now be compared with the following figures which show the degree of foreign mixture in our population: Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Arkansas, Kentucky all under five per cent; Florida and Indiana under 25 per cent; Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania and California from 37 to 50 per cent; New York, Massachusetts and Rhode Island over 50 per cent. The primary reason for the excessive homicide rate in the South is found in the fact that the ratio of deaths by murder among Negroes is from five to seven times as great as among white people. The evidence is clear that many more Negroes are killed by white men than white people are murdered by Negroes.

Dr. Hoffman summarized his findings in these words: "Year after year I have called attention to our homicide record, and year after year matters have grown worse or shown no tendency toward a decided improvement. We have become utterly apathetic and indifferent to the frightful consequences of a drifting attitude of mind which stamps this country as the most lawless among the great civilized and industrial nations of the world."

Why should we be surprised at our crime record—in a land where the economic system is motivated by greed and operates through competition, where ostentatious luxury and abysmal poverty are found side by side, where congestion in housing makes privacy impossible and decency difficult in countless homes, where political graft is notorious, where tens of thousands of high school and college students are given military instruction in the science of killing, where Negroes are regarded as inferiors and are cruelly exploited, where old moral standards have been thrown to the winds, where the philosophy of eating and drinking and lusting prevails, and where religion is a vital experience for only a small proportion of the population—why should we be surprised at our rising murder rate?

League for Social Reconstruction

The liberals and radicals of Canada have organized a new movement to stimulate radical political thought and activity. Their organization, known as the League for Social Reconstruction, and committed to public ownership of public utilities, transportation, communications, and other industries approaching monopolistic control; nationalization of banks; social insurance; steeply graduated taxation; a national planning commission and disarmament and world peace, is fashioned more or less after the Fabian model. It is committed to the abolition of the capitalist system and declares, "We look to the establishment in Canada of a new social order which will substitute a planned and socialized economy for the existing chaotic individualism." A provisional executive committee consists of Professor F. R. Scott of McGill University, Professor King Gordon of United Theological College, Montreal, Professor E. A. Havelock of Victoria College, Toronto, and Mr. J. F. Parkinson and Professor F. H. Underhill, both of the University of Toronto.

The Socialists Face Their Test

McALISTER COLEMAN

IN AND about the various headquarters of the Socialist Party, from the Rand School in New York City to the office where *The New Era* is published in Los Angeles, there is a great amount of belt-tightening and sleeve-rolling. For after as crowded a year as the Socialists of America have known since the dark days of 1917, when because of their anti-war stand they were nearly wiped off the political map, the Socialists go into the struggle of a presidential campaign, knowing very well that such an opportunity as now presents itself may not be repeated in their life-time.

What most Socialists believe to be the almost inevitable collapse of the entire profit system will show what stuff is in the delegates and in the rank and file who have sent them to the party's national convention beginning May 14, at Milwaukee. If through their platform and their candidates they can capture the imagination of a considerable cross-section of the voters in this coming campaign, they will return to the political field as the important factor they were when, in the days before the War, one million men were casting their votes for Eugene Victor Debs. If, on the other hand, they content themselves with mere repititions of time-worn slogans or make it appear that, like the Social Democrats of Germany, they are concerned with the "stabilization" of the present profit economy, they might as well emulate the Arabs of Mr. Longfellow's poem and "silently steal away." So all through the Party ranks, at every branch meeting, there is hot, oftimes very hot indeed, discussion of policies and "immediate demands" and the "ultimate goal," quite as though the Socialist Party had not been functioning for the past thirty-two years in this country. All this is a source of considerable grief to many veterans, who long since have "had" their Socialism and feel that any further discussions of fundamentals are acts of supererogation. "Your job is to go out and make Socialists," they tell the newcomers, "just as we always did." This answer, however, more and more fails to satisfy the critical, alert-minded, militantly-inclined men and women who are joining the party these days.

To the point of quite evident annoyance on the part of many of the old-timers (and I use that word in no reproachful sense), these new arrivals continually get up in meeting and ask questions like these: How hard will the majority of the New York City convention, which recently announced that Socialists should use no means other than strictly democratic means to achieve their goal, press that point? May not circumstances arise where a determined minority shall be forced back on the strike and other forms of economic pressure not strictly democratic? Shall we find any real following among the betrayed and workless workers by assuring them that some day we may be able to persuade the people of the United States that socialism will be voted in? Is our appeal to be to class-conscious workers, demanding a change in the entire economic set-up, or to that vague group calling themselves liberals, progressives or social reformers who believe that by some ameliorative processes, preferably painless, capitalism may be persuaded to sit up and take notice again? And then comes the inevitable question: Why are some of our leaders, while demanding recognition of Soviet Russia, so evidently apathetic towards the progress of that far-flung task of creating socialism in a nation of 180,000,000?

Now that the great illusion of "prosperity" has been effectively blasted at the end of three of the most calamitous years which the workers of this country have ever suffered, labor, as has always been the case, turns from action on the industrial field to use of the political weapon. State and city labor bodies, running directly counter to the pronouncements of the hierarchy of the American Federation of Labor, have plumped for Federal unemployment insurance, a Socialist measure since 1900; the force of rank and file opinion has sent President William Green and other slow-moving labor bodies marching down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol to demand direct Federal relief for the workless; in West Virginia the militant miners' union has organized a labor party pledged to "harmonious action" with the Socialists; the Socialist Christians have organized, as noted in a recent issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW, in militant opposition to the competitive system and in support of "the Socialist Party or such other party as may embody the purposes of socialism as the political organization most nearly approximating a political expression of Christian ethics for our day." And the most friendly of gestures are being made in the direction of the Socialists by the League for Independent Political Action, headed by Professor John Dewey and supported by Oswald Garrison Villard and his influential organ *The Nation*.

THESE signs and omens of a resurgent socialism are sufficient to restore to the Socialists such confidence in themselves and their party as they may have lost in the doldrum days before 1929. The question arises as to whether such unexpected popularity as the party now enjoys may go to the heads of the leaders and persuade them to attempt to smooth over the differences between

revolutionary socialism and ameliorative reformism in order to attract to their banners great numbers of so-called "independent voters." Few outside the party realize how insistent and frequent are the proposals made by groups of some real influence that the "Socialist label" be dropped, that the demands incorporated in the Socialist platform be softened up and that the members of the present party go along in some sort of third party movement as yet undefined.

One issue stressed by every genuine Marxian is that of the class struggle. This has been the cause of repeated bickerings between Socialists and those who would form alliances with them. The former in the midst of a complex industrial arrangement have oftentimes oversimplified the existence of the class struggle. The writer has been accused of heterodoxy in a semi-official Socialist quarterly for protesting against the naivete with which some Socialist speakers have approached this perplexing subject. On the other hand, by denying its existence, in this country at any rate, liberals and progressives are blind to one of the main sources from which socialism springs. It is certainly ironical to ask the Socialists to abandon their name, one of the mainsprings of their philosophy and large sections of their program, for the sake of capturing an unpredictable number of disgruntled voters at the next election. And in recognition of this, the last New York City convention of Socialists voted to send word to the National Convention that it wanted nothing less than the following underscoring of the class struggle to appear on all application blanks for membership in the party:

> I, the undersigned, recognize that there is a struggle between the capitalist class and the working class for possession of political power, and that it is necessary for the working class to organize in a political party independent from the parties of the capitalist class in order to achieve the collective ownership and democratic administration and operation of the collectively used and socially necessary means of wealth-production and distribution.

This would seem to be forthright enough and, if adopted by the National Convention, should leave no grounds for doubting the Socialist stand on the class struggle issue. At the same time, it is consistent with the adherence to democratic means for achieving socialism previously endorsed by the same New York convention; it draws a sharp line between Socialists and Communists, since the latter turn scornful backs upon political methods for bringing about the cooperative commonwealth.

In spite of all temptations to belong to other organizations, I do not believe that at Milwaukee the assembled Socialists will throw overboard their drive for socialization of industry for such liberal approaches as "increasing social control," economic planning that looks to stabilization of the present profit system, or any other of the palliatives contained in the various liberal, or what *The New York Times* calls incongruously "bourgeois radical," programs. It is true that the socialism that is talked during this coming campaign may not be the socialism of the May Days when Gene Debs was stumping the country. It will have, perhaps, more facts and figures and fewer fine flowers of oratory, but it will be socialism with all its original demands for collective ownership and democratic administration of the processes of production.

AND now at length we come to Russia,—as who indeed does not?—and we find that the Socialists have been expending a vast amount of time and lung-power upon the correct party attitude toward the Soviet regime. Naturally enough, New York being the first American city to feel every repercussion from abroad, the question has been most vehemently debated within that city. Little by little at the end of three highly articulate conventions, mostly concentrating on the Muscovite problem, the official position of New York Socialists (which, of course, may not be accepted by the delegates at Milwaukee, but which is typical of the stand taken by many of the most influential leaders) is that the party favors the instant recognition of Soviet Russia; that insofar as Russia is making progress towards the elimination of the profit system, American Socialists should acclaim such progress and emulate it; that, on the other hand, the Socialists here abhor the continued arrest and imprisonment of working-class political prisoners; and that above all the American Socialists should not allow themselves to become divided on the Russian question. This policy naturally evokes hissing and derision on the part of the various factions who claim the name of Communist in this country and who gleefully anticipate the day when they shall crush the Socialist Party under heel.

RECENT internal tilts over policy have given rise to rumors of wars among the Socialists, inflated out of all proportion to their gravity. Whenever the party has shown activity it has developed its Right, Center and Left. Dividing the present groupings into Marxists, activists, reformers, militants, etc. may be an interesting exercise in political exegesis, but it comes down to saying that the youngsters are rarin' to go, whereas the older elements of the Right keep cautious hands on the brakes—a little too cautious according to many critics who are not party members but adherents of socialist philosophy.

Most outspoken of these critics is A. J. Muste, Dean of Brookwood Labor College and leader of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, who in articles and speeches has raked the party over the coals for not getting rid of their "Old Guard" and who in a recent issue of his journal, *Labor Age,* wrote:

> If there is no labor or third party, the Socialists will gain some votes in the next election, especially if the Democrats

don't run a progressive. That last phrase suggests that an increase in the S. P. vote won't mean much. It will come mainly from intellectuals and liberals who vote for able and honest men, and not from labor. If there is any sort of mass movement toward independent labor political action, it will almost certainly take form as a Labor or Farmer-Labor party, not as a movement of individuals or groups into the Socialist Party.

So far, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, in spite of repeated calls for a "revolutionary" working-class party, has made no progress in interesting labor in this project. It has succeeded, however, by its attacks on the Socialists in alienating the majority of the so-called "militant" Socialists whose support at one time it eagerly sought. Of late there has been a concerted exodus of "militants" from the C. P. L. A. and this together with the withdrawal of the active Lovestone Communist group, who might have been expected to have followed any "revolutionary" mass movement, leaves the C. P. L. A. almost alone on the front porch of Brookwood Labor College.

To sum up: the campaign of 1932 offers a test of the vision of the leaders and the integrity of the rank and file of the Socialist Party such as has not appeared since 1917. Every political indication now on the horizon points to a return in force by the party to the political arena. Nothing, at this writing, indicates that any responsible Socialists have the slightest intention of changing the name of the party or abandoning any of its program for the sake of affiliating with any third party movements. If, however, without abandoning its autonomy, the opportunity might arise for the Socialist Party to be of service to a genuine working-class party, there is no question but what that opportunity would be seized.

Those who know their times will keep a close eye on the American Socialists in these coming campaign months. Just now they constitute the only nationally organized group in opposition to the political supporters of the present profit system. The sort of leadership they develop, what they say and do in such critical times, may very well determine the future of every dissident movement in America.

Penitence and Social Progress*

KIRBY PAGE

THE great prophets have always experienced hours of contrition. In periods of illumination, when consciousness of the beauty and holiness of the Eternal was overwhelming, they have gazed into the awful chasm which separated their own character from the Ideal, and have cried out in deepest travail of spirit. As far back as the time of David, and much beyond, the literature of spiritual experience is filled with lamentation over the ravages of sin. Hear the penitent cry of the Shepherd King: "There is no soundness in my flesh because of thine indignation. . . . For mine iniquities are gone over my head: as a burden they are too heavy for me. My wounds are loathsome and corrupt, because of my foolishness. . . . I have groaned because of the disquietness of my heart. . . . My heart throbbeth, my strength faileth me. . . . For I am ready to fall, and my sorrow is continually before me. For I will declare mine iniquity; I will be sorry for my sin. . . . Forsake me not, O Jehovah: O my God, be not far from me. . . . Make haste to help me, O Lord, my salvation. . . . Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me."

"What a wretched man I am!" exclaimed the Apostle Paul. "Who can save me from this doomed body?" The New Testament abounds with emphasis upon the necessity of penitence. ". . . . for all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God. . . . For the wages of sin is death. . . . Do not be deceived. God is not to be sneered at. A man will reap just what he sows. The man who sows to gratify his physical cravings will reap destruction from them. . . The things our physical nature does are clear enough—immorality, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, quarreling, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension, party-spirit, envy, drunkenness, carousing, and the like. I warn you as I did before that people who do such things will have no share in the Kingdom of God. . . . But alas for you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you lock the door of the Kingdom of Heaven against men; you yourselves do not enter, nor do you allow these to enter, who are seeking to do so. . . . Alas for you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you pay the tithe on mint, dill, and cumin, while you have neglected the weightier requirements of the Law—just judgment, mercy, and faithful dealing. . . . Alas for you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you wash clean the outside of the cup or dish, while within they are full of greed and self-indulgence. . . . Alas for you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you are just like whitewashed sepulchres, the outside of which please the eyes, though inside they are full of dead men's bones and all that is unclean."

* Taken from a forthcoming volume entitled *Living Creatively*, which is being published by Farrar and Rinehart.

Penitence for social sin is a characteristic of the great spiritual seers. Not only do they catch a vision of the gulf which separates their own characters from the Ideal; they see clearly the yawning abyss which separates the present social order from the Family of God. "The world" has always been one of the great trilogy of enemies. Not even the flesh and the devil have been resisted with more vigor. "Love not the world, nor yet what is in the world; if anyone loves the world, love for the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the desire of the flesh and the desire of the eyes and the proud glory of life, belongs not to the Father but to the world; and the world is passing away with its desire, while he who does the will of God remains for ever."

The short record of Jesus' experience contains no reference to penitence for personal imperfection, but throughout it reveals his recognition of social solidarity and responsibility. He submerges himself into the sufferings and sins of his people, and takes upon his own shoulders the guilt of his fellows. His baptism is a symbol of his identification with those who would redeem Israel. "Throughout the centuries," writes Henry Sloane Coffin, "Christians have been puzzled by Jesus' insistence on undergoing this symbol of repentance. What did He have on His conscience to confess? Our crass individualism hinders our understanding Him. If His nation was not fulfilling God's purpose, He was implicated in its failure. If the leaders of the Church were there, acknowledging its faultiness and their guilt, He as a member of the Church was involved in its sin. If social outcasts, harlots and publicans, were there, pouring out their penitence, He was accountable for conditions which helped make harlots and grasping collectors of revenue. If common folk of all sorts were there, baring their soiled souls and dedicating themselves to a new life, they were His kinsmen and He belonged with them, sharing their abasement and their hunger and thirst after righteousness. It was no pose on His part when He put Himself at their side as a penitent." In sorrow and travail he cried aloud over Jerusalem. A petition for forgiveness is embodied in the prayer which he taught his disciples.

THE epistles abound with confessions of sin: "If we say, 'We are not guilty,' we are deceiving ourselves and the truth is not in us. . . . If we say, 'We have not sinned,' we make him a liar and his word is not within us." The infectious quality of sin is emphasized by Paul: "Do you not know that a little yeast will affect all the dough? You must clean out the old yeast and become fresh dough, free from the old." "If anyone declares, 'I love God,' and yet hates his brother, he is a liar, for he who *will not* love his brother whom he has seen, *cannot possibly* love the God whom he has never seen."

Penitence and confession have always preceded a sense of forgiveness. Not until the prodigal son "came to himself" and turned about, could he comprehend the depth of his father's forgiving love. "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, he forgives our sins and cleanses us from all iniquity."

Penitence and confession are necessary if one is to possess the forgiving spirit, without which the full sense of forgiveness is impossible. Not until there is recognition that the person who injures us is motivated by desires which are akin to our own, can we easily forgive him. When we realize that his passions are only a more or less brilliant reflection of our own greed and enmity, we are impelled to seek reconciliation. Recognition of this truth caused Jesus to exclaim: "If therefore when you are offering your gift upon the altar, you remember that your brother has a grievance against you, leave your gift there before the altar, and go and make friends with your brother first, and then return and proceed to offer your gifts." As long as we labor under the delusion that a breach with another man is wholly his fault, we are likely to be bitter and vindictive.

THE New Testament doctrine of salvation has two aspects. God is eager to save the repentant from ignoble attitudes and unworthy deeds in this world, and also to give them eternal life after death. The prodigal son was "saved" by penitential action and his father's forgiving love. "I once watched a really loving mother and a profligate son," writes Dr. A. Herbert Gray. "I learnt more about the price of sin's atonement in those days than I have ever learnt from books of theology. For I saw that by her love she was for ever bound to that boy, and that by her goodness she was doomed to feel his sins like blows upon her heart, and to make his shame her shame. Moral indifference would have delivered her from her agony, but she could not be morally indifferent. The denial of her love would have allowed her to escape, but she could not deny her love. Was he not her boy? Was she not involved with him, body and soul? And so she found her cross. And so, too, there came a day when I felt that nothing in this world held hope for that boy except the love which his sin could not kill: I felt his sin had found its match. I seemed to catch a glimpse of a day when sin would have to let go, and love would remain the victor." God is like a mother's affection and far more. Realization of the never-failing love of our Father helps to break the shackles of paralyzing habit. Without the passionate conviction on the part of Jesus' followers that God will not permit his children to be annihilated by death, Christianity would have been stamped out by cruel persecution. In the valley of tribulation, believers were sustained by the mighty expectation of future deliverance and eternal joy.

IN our day, however, the sense of sin has grown weak. Numerous writers are telling us that consciousness of guilt is "unhealthy," and that it creates "morbidity," and gives rise to an "inferiority complex," and makes for unhappiness. This tendency is due in part to a failure to understand the nature of sin and the extent of its ravages. Sin is falling short of the mark; contentment with low aim and meager achievement; carelessly failing to pursue truth, beauty and goodness; wasting time in fruitless activities; yielding to the baser passions; rating possessiveness above creativity; giving expression to anti-social tendencies; and exploiting other persons for one's own advantage.

To the degree that a man possesses a vivid ideal of the good life, submerges himself in the sea of human misery and endeavors to alleviate suffering, kindles imagination in hours of silence and by visions of beauty, and follows the noblest personality into the presence of a loving, suffering Father—to the extent that he lives meaningfully, he will be convicted of sin and cry aloud for deliverance.

The smugness and complacency of this generation needs to be shattered by contrition and fruits of repentance. The person who has no higher aim than eating, drinking, lusting and being merry in the midst of hunger, pain, sorrow and strife ought to be filled with shame. As long as he is willing to prostitute the life energies of another man to his own luxury or the body of a woman to his own enjoyment, he is mean and despicable. In his case, consciousness of moral inferiority is a prerequisite of spiritual growth.

The individual whose life is founded upon falsehood and dishonesty, shoddiness and deception, greed and callousness, cannot be saved to himself and society until he is overwhelmed with remorse. The erection of barriers against other races, nations and classes; the infliction of humiliations and insults upon other peoples; the willingness to use violence and war under the influence of fear and enmity and with the purpose of advancing selfish interests—these *are* terrible sins, and cannot be vaporized by shallow thinking and confused expression.

"Sinning by syndicate" is the way Professor E. A. Ross once described the modern practice. As civilization becomes more urban and complex, relationships become more impersonal. Groups grow larger and larger and affect each other in the mass. We sin against persons we have never seen and who may dwell in distant corners of the earth, and in turn are sinned against by them. Much of our sinning today is done in our capacities as investors, bankers, manufacturers, directors, employers, trade unionists, consumers, citizens, officials, imperialists, militarists, patriots, politicians, lobbyists, journalists, clubmen, Nordics, trustees, educators, deacons, and clergymen.

An up-to-date list of notorious sinners would include: investors who live in luxury from unearned income derived from the cruel exploitation of women and children; malefactors of wealth who maintain their privileges and power by corrupting public officials, suppressing collective action on the part of their employees, and poisoning public opinion through a subsidized press; trade unionists who betray their comrades by accepting graft, and those who seek a privileged position for their own craft at the expense of other workers; consumers who purchase in the lowest market, oblivious or indifferent to the fact that these commodities are often covered with the blood of sweated laborers; women who fritter away their time and energy in a meaningless round of social activities; citizens who regard with indifference, indulgence or cynicism the dangerous policies and corrupt practices of public officials; office holders who take petty bribes or wholesale graft in the form of tariff manipulation for their chief supporters; militarists and patrioteers who endanger international peace by generating fear and releasing chauvinistic passions; journalists who debase public morals by pandering to lust and sensationalism, and who create social crises by distortion and jingoism; racial bigots who use the plea of "racial purity" as a smoke screen to hide discrimination, exploitation and barbarity; trustees of educational institutions who victimize professors because they present unpopular truths; educators of craven spirit who hypocritically teach what they do not believe, and hide their real convictions because they fear consequences; church officials who seek to silence the prophetic voice when it menaces vested interests; clergymen who permit their vision to grow dim, their zeal to flag, their courage to ooze away, and their willingness to make sacrifices to become paralyzed—all these are notorious sinners. "If we say, 'We are not guilty,' we are deceiving ourselves and the truth is not in us." If we are to climb the heights of spiritual creativity, we must confess our sins and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. The pure in heart and steadfast in purpose alone find God.

Eagle

SHUT within alien bars, an eagle broods:
Star of the morning fallen from the skies,
Slowly he opens lightning-tawny eyes
That gazed on earth from cloudy vastitudes
And stormy thoroughfares of wind. What moods
Lurk in their yellow scorn!—With laughter and cries,
Men peer and crowd about his cage where lies
Lucifer torn from heaven's altitudes.
O earth-caged comrade, let them point and stare,
Making your barren doom their curious fun!
Ignore them: let your fallen heart be proud.
Brother of storms, conquestador of air,
Have not your eyes, above earth's loftiest cloud,
Stared—and unwinking—into the very sun?

E. MERRILL ROOT

Needed: A Rubber-Stamp Senate

ROBERT MOULTON GATKE

IS the Senate a protecting genius or a menace to the foreign relations of the United States? Not a few Senators can be persuaded to overcome their natural senatorial modesty and confess that their heroic work saved American liberty from being choked to death by the serpentine tentacles of the League of Nations. By their efforts, they admit, we have escaped the fate which is ruthlessly crushing Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and some fifty other nations, while the United States enjoys full freedom in company with Soviet Russia and Turkey.

The inscrutable enigma of the American people is the exact relation between the Senate and the President in the making of treaties. President Hoover's authorization of American adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice, signed by Mr. Moffat at Berne on December 9, 1929, caused the world press to proclaim the re-entrance of the United States into coöperative relations with the nations of the Old World. Then speculations started. What would the Senate do to the treaty? Washington correspondents predicted that Mr. Hoover would not submit it to the Senate until the political complexion of that body was changed. In the meantime, the innocent public wondered and waited for the necessary changes in senatorial make-up. On December 10, 1930, the President submitted the protocol for American adherence to the World Court to the Senate, and shortly after, word came forth from the Capitol that the protocol would not be considered by the Senate until the next session of Congress.

This postponement of treaty consideration stirred dim memories of the fact that when the World Court was first submitted to the Senate it took that deliberative body just a few days less than three years to reach a final decision in spite of executive proddings and popular demands for action. It was hard to get the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations together, so its chairman explained. Once again the question was raised: What is the true function and power of the Senate in regard to treaties?

This frequently heard query has received many diverse answers. John Hay, Roosevelt's Secretary of State, struggling to secure consent for treaty ratifications, thought of the Senate as a treaty slaughter house. "A treaty entering the Senate," he declared, "is like a bull going into the arena; no one can say just how or when the final blow will fall, but one thing is certain—it will never leave the arena alive."

Is the Senate, as especially members of its Committee on Foreign Relations have asserted, charged with the responsibility of directing the foreign policy of the United States, with the President and his Secretary of State intended to act merely as its ministerial agents? Or is it, as more modest members of that body have maintained, a fully co-ordinate power with the President? Or, on the other hand, can it possibly have been intended merely as a check upon the President, to act in the fearful emergency created by the chief executive power falling into the hands of a madman, fool, or scoundrel? Students of government would commonly limit its treaty-making function to such emergencies, but few Senators are to be found in their number.

BLUNDERING along, without knowing where effective legal direction of foreign affairs is centered, becomes dangerous in this day of intimate and intricate international relations. A twentieth century world power must really know who can speak its will in dealing with other nations. It is time to understand clearly what the constitutional control is, to evaluate its workability under present conditions and, if it fails to stand the test, to modernize it so it will. Government has ceased to be a child of the mysterious gods and is now merely a man-made and controlled machine, and when the machine does not work, instead of the populace fasting and offering prayers of penance, they demand that it be pulled apart and rebuilt so it will work. This fact suggests that a handful of men in the Senate may hear a demand that they give up their cheap heroics and explain their blocking of all progress in international coöperation.

Washington, in assembling the new Federal government, had the advantage of knowing how its makers had intended it to be put together, for he had sympathetically followed every step of its creation. No man knew more of what the creators of the great experiment in government intended to do. He assumed that on important questions pertaining to treaty making he was to have the advice of the Senate as his executive council. He informed a committee of that body that he might have occasion to consult with the Senate at his residence or elsewhere away from its regular meeting place. The Senate passed a rule authorizing the President to call it into session for counsel at any time and any place and apparently still retains the rule among the many regulations forgotten through disuse. Perhaps President Hoover may use his authority under this rule and summon all of the ninety-six Senators to come trooping to his mountain camp some week-end to give consent to his ratification of the World Court treaty!

The very first time Washington tried to consult with his executive council, he discovered that there was no relation between the Convention's ideal of an executive council and the Senate it had created. The Senate was busy with legislative work and resented the interruption caused by the arrival of the President, accompanied by one of his secretaries who was to explain the treaty under consideration. The secretary's voice failed to carry above the noise of the carriages rumbling over the cobblestone street outside the chamber, and some Senators in the rear of the room could not hear what he was saying. Although they failed to hear him they knew they disapproved of what he said! The motion was quickly made, seconded, and passed that the matter be referred to a committee for consideration and report. Washington was rightfully irritated and made it plain that his purpose in coming had been defeated. Not unlikely that is what the Senate wished to do, for Senator Maclay recorded in his journal: "The President wishes to tread on the necks of the Senate. Commitment will bring the matter to discussion at least in the committee, where he is not present. He wishes us to see with the eyes and hear with the ears of his Secretary only. The Secretary to advance the premises, the President to draw the conclusions, and to bear down on our deliberation with his personal authority and presence. Form only will be left us." This incident showed plainly that the conception of the Senate as an executive council was a false one. A contemporary recorded in his diary that the revered Father of his country resolved that "he would be damned if he went there again."

Washington did not go where he was obviously not wanted and thereafter sought the advice of his supposed council by the cumbersome method of correspondence. Added experience led him to stop seeking even the opinion of the Senate until he had submitted to them a completed treaty. The Senate could not, or would not, function as an executive council and definitely launched itself as an exclusively legislative body, refusing to assume a dual personality even at the behest of the great Constitutional Convention which gave it birth.

THE lover of charts and diagrams would find the lines drawn to represent the relative influence of the President and Senate jagged ones, showing wide fluctuations. The bitter and successful fight over the League of Nations and the World Court during the past few years gives some dizzy jumps to the lines and on the surface indicates a rapid rise in senatorial power. But in spite of the many uncertainties, the executive line steadily rises while the senatorial line goes down. The seats of the mighty now appear to be on Capitol Hill, but to the constant embarrassment of the statesmen occupying those seats, they have discovered no practical method of communicating their will to the nations of the world and have to show their power by spiteful negation of positive executive leadership.

Nothing has been discovered in American experience to discount the accepted position among political scientists that the conduct of foreign relations is essentially an executive function. The successful administration of a foreign policy requires a continuing personnel of a highly trained character. In no field of government is there required a wider grasp of facts in dealing with any given situation—facts assembled and assimilated by experts. Commonly this information is little known to the public, generally having been secured from official and often secret sources. The American State Department has been notoriously understaffed as compared with the foreign departments of even second rate powers, and yet the relative degree of accurate information used by the executive officials in reaching decisions concerning foreign policies is incomparably greater than that used by the most industrious and informed members of the Senate, who have only the meager sources of information used by the general public.

The gross violation of the principles of effective government involved in active senatorial direction of foreign policy is made manifest by the frequent insistence of the Senate upon its "right" to amend the treaties submitted for its approval by the President. A treaty is a product of the give and take process of diplomatic bargaining. Nations, like individuals, have many and conflicting interests which can be brought into a harmonious program of action only through the process of bargaining. Diplomats know that to receive they must give and so they patiently work to achieve the most acceptable agreement possible. During the negotiations, knowledge of the various demands and counter-demands must be kept from the public, for otherwise the nationalistic press would grasp at the greatest demands, made perhaps merely for tactical reasons, and resent even the most essential compromises. A treaty negotiated by the responsible representatives of the chief executive must, under our constitution, obtain senatorial approval before the President can ratify it. In complete ignorance and supreme disregard for the intricate background of diplomatic bargaining, the Senate proceeds to act as though the entire field were open for it to settle after its own fancy. Its demands in the form of treaty amendments thus become a direct ultimatum to the other nation, which must either accept the new demands or reject the entire treaty. Not unnaturally other nations resent having either to lose what they bought, perhaps by costly concessions, or to bear the odium of rejecting the treaty. It is as though after two men had agreed upon the terms of a contract one of them should insist upon his "right" to eliminate or add anything he might desire, regardless of the wishes of the other party to the agreement.

Effective international relations demand promptness

and dispatch, qualities unknown to legislative bodies. When the adherence of the United States to the World Court was first submitted to the Senate, it took about three years for that body to fix its choice collection of millstone-amendments about the neck of the statute before they cast it into the deep sea. It took the time of a generation to decide the disposal of the Isle of Pines chiefly because one or two influential Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee objected to final action on the matter.

The Senate was created to serve as an executive council in the day of the lumbering old stagecoach and dirt roads and grew too large to serve that purpose long before the railroad became more than a madman's dream. Yet it has received no modernization while the United States has progressed to the ways of airplane locomotion. The Senate is a menace to effective foreign relations for the same reason that an eighteenth century stagecoach would be a menace in modern traffic, being unable to move fast enough to keep from wrecking the machines going at the speed rate essential to the twentieth century.

MANY plans have been advanced for modernizing our foreign relations machinery to make it serviceable under twentieth century conditions, but so far with little result. The most obvious change, of course, is to reduce the number of votes required to "give advice and consent" from two-thirds to a majority of those present at any regular session. This would be adequate protection for the nation against any tragedy in our foreign relations which might result from the mischance of the presidency falling into the hands of a madman or fool. But such a change would require a constitutional amendment which can result only from tidal waves and earthquakes in public opinion—which are hard to imagine as arising from a situation which puzzles and irritates rather than arouses the public.

Clearly a majority vote of both houses of Congress, which is required to pass all national legislation, would be preferable to the present system of voting on treaties. The prevailing impossible method tempts publicity seekers, partisans, and the generally contrary-minded beyond resistence and causes them to use their unique advantage ruthlessly to make their slightest whim of international importance. But this proposed change would itself, as a constitutional amendment, require a two-thirds vote of the very Senate which so jealously guards it powers.

The constitution can be left unchanged and the needed modification brought about by political pressure if the public will really get on the job. A determined popular movement might make plain to the Senate that the country expects a capable and informed executive department to handle foreign affairs and is not depending upon the Senate to be more than a legal emergency check. Such a message will seem like treason and blasphemy to the Senate and it will have to be put very forcefully if it is to be understood by the men who have so long posed as the saviors of their country from executive domination of foreign affairs. The message will have to be amplified, for it will be directed to deaf ears. The unvarnished truth is that in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases of treaty making what is needed from Capitol Hill is a legal rubber-stamp approval, and not the troublous and laborious products of a debating society. If the United States is to deal with the nations of the world in a sane and orderly way, it will have to modernize its antiquated executive council into a rubber-stamp for approving presidential treaties. The American people must free their responsible executive from senatorial meddling with his foreign policies.

Question the Wanderers

AND if the bonds were loosed and you were free,
Where would you go, O wild, unreasoning heart;
Upon what vehement journey would you start,
Toward what far heaven of felicity
Would you in solitary joy advance?
Question the wanderers; ask if any gained
Supreme content, ask if the spirit strained
And taut throughout a thousand games of chance,
Is rich and satisfied. For men, like trees,
Must have their beings rooted if they'd grow
To stately heights; all things that drift and blow
Are sterile, and ephemeral ecstasies
Debilitate and destroy. Yet life is long
When furious unrest lies like a sore
On a heart held to its home. Rebel, therefore:
Unnatural bonds are never very strong.

HELENE MULLINS

Beyond Discouragement

WE who have glimpses of the world's despair,
Of pomp sleek-liveried while the starving wait,
Of smirking greed and scarlet-sabred hate,
And plunder throned in many a velvet chair;
We who have seen the battered heart laid bare
By love and loss—how can we contemplate,
Without lips curling, Him who guards our fate
And tends His sheepfold with the rains of care?

We grope amid the night-fogs of our doubt.
Yet somehow, though the hands be bleeding wet,
The pulse still leaps; and, almost driven to tears,
We lift our eyes, and see the stars come out,
And hope beholds a Purpose flashing yet
Behind the misty landscape of our fears.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

China's Historic Use of the Boycott

H. G. WELPTON

THIRTY-FIVE years ago, shortly before the Boxer uprising, I visited China—a China that had existed for forty-five centuries without a radical change in her laws. The observations I record here are concerned chiefly with the use that the China of that day made of the boycott in her domestic life, and refer to rural China rather than to her great ports, which are no more representative of the social and economic life of that country than is New York City representative of the rural life of the United States.

Outstanding in my recollection is the fear and respect that each member of a community had for the boycott as the chief method of enforcing social and economic laws. The boycott was practically always equivalent to the banishment of the offender from the community, since through it he could neither buy nor sell; neither could he employ or work for any other member of the community. In the case of a more serious offense his business was confiscated; otherwise he was allowed to dispose of it to some other member of the community. The boycott was invoked for the most part against those convicted of graft, exploitation or general dishonesty in business. Thieving, violence and robbery were punished at the whipping post. Beheading was reserved for absconding bankers, business men who forged checks and for politicians who misapplied public funds. Minor misdemeanors were punished by ridicule. But the largest number of offenders were reformed.

The boycott as a social weapon emerged out of the actual experience of the Chinese people. In the last thousand years of its history, for instance, China has had no such thing as a liquor problem, yet it would be silly to hold that during all the centuries of her existence she has never had to face that question. Long centuries ago China learned the abuses of alcohol and learned likewise to apply the influence of the boycott against the manufacturers of liquor and against those who were prone to over-indulge their appetites. The one lost all business connection with the community and therefore had to leave, and the other because of drunken inefficiency, could get no work and was likewise compelled to seek elsewhere for a livelihood.

The price of each commodity was fixed at the New Year and was never changed except when material was used that had to be imported. This variation in price the community bore as a whole. The manufacturer suffered no losses since he did not overproduce and since the prices of domestic material, labor and transportation remained fixed. The bankers' and brokers' earnings were likewise permanent, regular and fixed, the boycott being directed at any member of the community who failed to support and patronize them.

Racketeering in business was unknown; business transactions of whatever kind or nature were made public. Nothing was more certain to draw the sanction of the boycott than secrecy, and the same publicity and openness that characterized their business affairs permeated their family and social life. Each home was kept fully open to the inspection of neighbors. Since secrecy was in no way tolerated, gangster life was altogether unheard of.

None of the communities I saw maintained a standing army or police force. The armies of the war-lords were largely supported by foreign capital for the purpose of exploiting the different communities. In no community were groups of delinquents even allowed to congregate, much less operate under police protection. Public offices in China were regularly filled by their best scholars, and the ignorant did not dare aspire to position either in business or in government.

To prevent the accumulation of enormous fortunes and fabulous incomes each community determined upon a limit of profit for individuals, manufacturing plants or brokers. Any refusal of the moneyed class to submit to the limitation automatically precipitated the boycott against them. Under such a system today Henry Ford would be given all expenses and depreciation on his business together with an income ample in every respect, while the ninety millions of private profits he extracted from the general public in 1931 would be turned back for the use of the nation.

When one considers that the wage for common labor at this time was from three to eight cents a day, and that skilled labor was limited to twelve cents a day, he can appreciate that such a civilization must needs be stable and permit of no such extreme fluctuations as characterize our own economic scheme. Any sudden disturbance would destroy large portions of the population and entail starvation as well as degradation. It should be pointed out, however, that one servant or one patient in the hospital could be adequately fed at a cost of one cent a day.

IN her long history China has never resisted invasion. She has preferred to absorb the invader, thereby enriching her own life. China went as long as five hundred years without engaging in war with her neighbors. When Confucius taught, the boycott had long been dominant in the civil and political life of the country. None of China's scholars had heard of such problems as divorce and desertion. I did not hear a

single child speak disrespectfully or impudently to his parents, and all the men I met had the reputation of regularly telling the truth in business.

The boycott demanded immediate justice and required coöperation to enforce its mandates successfully. But it enforced the laws of the community without recourse to arms. Bloodshed was always avoided; China's intellectual classes never resorted to violence in settling their differences. As a consequence, no taxes had to be levied to provide for police or armies, nor were there jails or penitentiaries.

The entire community was interested in and in part responsible for every transaction. High moral standards were maintained by the boycott in the presence of the lowest wage scale ever known to organized society. The boycott operated with the least possible disturbance to the life of the community and struck equally at rich and poor. It exacted a standard day's labor for a standard day's wage and supported unemployment insurance.

The influence of the boycott in so successfully maintaining the stability of Chinese civilization has always stood out in my mind as the one great sanction for moral and social control. Without doubt we shall soon have an opportunity to observe the influence of this weapon in the field of international relations.

Viewing Manchuria in Perspective

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

WHAT about Manchuria? Here we have the spectacle of the League of Nations issuing its feeble orders and Japan stubbornly refusing to obey. Indeed from many quarters today come gloomy forebodings about the early demise of the League. They are saying that this rebuff which the League has experienced with relation to Manchuria spells suicide, and that once more the world is back at 1914.

In looking at this Manchurian incident, we need a sense of perspective. Precisely one hundred years ago, in 1831, the Cherokee cases came up before the United States Supreme Court. They arose out of a treaty in which the rights of an Indian tribe living in the State of Georgia had been guaranteed by the United States Government. Those rights were being overridden by the State of Georgia and the case was brought before the United States Supreme Court in a writ of error. The State of Georgia absolutely defied the Supreme Court. It treated it with studied disdain. It hanged an Indian when the Supreme Court decreed he should go free. It kept two men in prison when the Supreme Court said they should be released. The Georgia Legislature passed a resolution "enjoining the Governor and every officer of the State to disregard any and every mandate and process that may be served upon them by the United States Supreme Court or by any other court representing the Federal jurisdiction." To cap the climax, President Jackson made the statement: "Chief Justice Marshall has made his decision; now let him come off the Bench and enforce it."

Consequently the mandates of the Supreme Court for two years were unenforced in the State of Georgia. And how did the friends of the Federal Government react to this situation? This is what the New York *Daily Advertiser* said: "The failure and humiliation of the United States Supreme Court have brought us to the abyss." John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary: "The union is in the most imminent danger of dissolution. The ship is about to founder."

Even John Marshall, that heroic figure, who for nearly thirty years had led the fight for the Federal experiment, gave way to a moment of despair. He wrote to Mr. Justice Storey a letter in which he said: "I yield slowly and reluctantly to the conviction that our Constitution cannot last. Our opinions are incompatible with a united government even among ourselves. The Union has been prolonged thus far by miracles. I fear they cannot continue."

What they did not understand a century ago—what we do not understand just at this moment—is that it takes courage and faith and patience to develop any new instrument of social control. No new institution ever rides into its own with one hundred per cent success. Let us not say that this collective principle which the world is trying at the present moment has failed. We have scarcely begun to use it. It is an infinitely more difficult experiment in social engineering than anything which the human race has ever attempted. It is bound to meet with setbacks and occasional breakdowns, but I believe they will seem to our children as insignificant in their final consequences as do the Cherokee cases today, a hundred years after the event.—*From an address delivered at an Armistice Day meeting at Princeton University, November 11, 1931.*

Not in the Headlines

Turkey May Join League

It is reported in Geneva that Turkey will soon join the League of Nations, thus becoming the 56th member.

Slump in Foreign Trade

Exports from the United States in 1931 dropped to the lowest level since 1914, and were less than half the total for each year from 1925 to 1929.

Cost of Living Still High

With wages dropping calamitously, the cost of living at the end of 1931 was 34 per cent higher than at the outbreak of the World War, reports the National Industrial Conference Board.

The Green International

A number of pacifist students at the University of Wisconsin have formed a local group to be known as the Green International. Its primary purpose is to promote pacifism and to combat militarism.

American Pacifists in Japan

Sixteen American citizens resident in Japan have sent a resolution to Secretary Stimson deploring the landing of troops at Shanghai, reaffirming their faith in pacific processes, and declaring that they will never engage in war, or support preparations for it.

Boycott Reduces Liquor Revenue

In a single province in India, the Bombay Presidency, governmental revenue from liquor taxes during 1931 dropped $4,000,000, due chiefly to the vigorous boycott imposed by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. During 1931 drunkenness decreased by nearly 60 per cent.

Washington Youth Awakening

Among the numerous peace meetings being held by young people throughout the world was a significant gathering recently held in the Belasco Theater in the Capitol City, where James Frederick Green, who represented the youth of the United States before the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, was one of the speakers. Greetings were read from Secretary Stimson.

Methodists in Australia Speak Out

The Methodist Annual Conference in Sydney passed by an overwhelming vote the following resolution: "That this conference considers it as unnecessary for chaplains to wear military uniforms, and recommends its naval and military committee to consider the matter in the light of this decision." A member of the Conference also moved: "Believing that the Spirit of Christ is opposed to the enterprise of war, this conference, as a token of its sincerity, requests all its ministers who hold chaplaincies, military or naval, to resign from them. That, in no circumstances, shall the ministers of this conference don the borrowed plumes of the 'gunmen,' or adopt any warlike garb whatever." This motion was subsequently withdrawn in favor of the preceding resolution.

Franco-Polish Rift

Dispatches from Warsaw reveal grave concern over the forthcoming French elections. In the event of a decided swing to the left, the Franco-Polish alliance may be drastically modified.

Negroes Need Not Apply

Negroes are barred from membership in the 20 important unions in the transportation and communication industries, reports the United States Department of Commerce. The only exception is found in the red I. W. W., which welcomes Negroes.

Jerusalem Calling

On May 1 it is planned to broadcast an international program from Jerusalem in celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Hebrew University, under the presidency of Dr. Judah L. Magnes.

Consolidation Intensified

In spite of the financial debacle, two banks in the United States have reached the top. The Chase National boasts 1,450 million dollars on deposit, with the National City second with 1,410 millions, British Midland third with 1,200 millions, and Barclay's fourth with 1,120 millions.

Pacific Revolutionist Barred

Because he advocates an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the ownership of all land by the state, and favors other revolutionary objectives to be secured by non-violent means, Stoyou S. Saralieff, editor of a Hungarian language newspaper in Granite City, Illinois, was refused citizenship by Judge Davis.

Corporations Still Swelling

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company had 645,000 stockholders at the end of 1931. Standard Statistics Company reports that 94 major companies now have 6,724,000 stockholders, as compared with 4,760,000 at the end of 1929. Corporations are continuing the established practice of vesting control of their resources in small boards of directors, thus intensifying the degree of power concentrated in the hands of a few rich individuals.

Russia's Planned Economy

	Actual Output		Quotas		
	1925	1931	1932	1933*	1937
Coal (000 tons)	17,600	56,000	90,000	75,000	250,000
Oil (000 tons)	7,200	22,300	35,000	20,800	2½ to 3 times 1932 output
Pig iron (000 tons)	1,500	4,900	9,000	10,000	22,000
Steel (000 tons)	2,100	5,300	9,500	10,400	.....
Copper (000 tons)	12	48.8	100	84.7	To satisfy domestic needs
Electric power (billions kw.-hr.)	2.27	10.6	17	22	100
Cotton cloth (millions meters)	2,030	2,470	3,061	4,700	.....
Sown Area (millions acres)	265.75	341.5	360	354	400 to 425
National Capital Investment (billions dollars)	2.7	15.3	19.7	9.8	.....

* October, 1932, to October, 1933; last year of 5-year plan as scheduled in 1927. Fiscal year now calendar year.

The Business Week, March 2, 1932

Japanese Labor Splits

Weak as it was, the political power of labor in Japan has been diminished by the secession of a group who have formed a Japanese Nationalist Socialist Party, along fascist lines.

What Farm Groups Want

The principal measures advocated at recent annual meetings of three large organizations of farmers are listed as follows by *The New Agriculture Review:*

The National Grange Favors:

1. The Export Debenture.
2. Increase in estate taxes; no reduction in federal income taxes; a limited tax on luxuries; a federal and state gift tax; return to the states of a substantial portion of the federal corporation income tax; limitation of assessments against real estate; a state income tax in every state.
3. Further extension of rural credits.
4. Stabilizing the price of silver; stabilizing the purchasing power of gold in terms of the average prices of commodities (the commodity dollar).
5. Independence for the Philippines.
6. The supplanting of produce exchanges by coöperative marketing agencies.
7. Reduction of military budgets; promotion of national disarmament; drafting money and corporations as well as men in time of war.
8. Vigorous development of internal waterways.
9. Support of the Eighteenth Amendment and rigid enforcement of all prohibitory laws.
10. Early construction of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway.
11. Consolidation of railroads.
12. Operation of Muscle Shoals as a federal experiment station to develop data on the cost of generating and distributing electricity.
13. Strengthening the Federal Marketing Act.

The National Grange Opposes:

1. All forms of short selling except for legitimate hedging purposes.
2. Issuance of bonds for current expenditure during the present crisis.
3. Compulsory military training in land grant colleges.
4. Any form of general sales tax.
5. Establishment of a national department of education.

The American Farm Bureau Federation Advocates:

1. Strengthening of the Agricultural Marketing Act and enactment of the Equalization Fee.
2. Extension of rural credits.
3. Compulsory utilization of present powers of the Federal Reserve Board to increase price levels.
4. The stabilization of money; empowering and directing the Federal Reserve Board to raise or lower the price of gold.
5. Revision of entire taxation system.
6. Consolidation of railroads; abolition of the practice of charging more for a short haul than for a long haul.
7. Prohibition of short selling except for legitimate hedging purposes.
8. Philippine independence.
9. Support of tariff principle conditioned upon equalization as between agriculture and other industries.
10. Completion of inland waterway development and Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway.
11. Operation of Muscle Shoals under the direction of organized agriculture and the distribution of manufactured fertilizer on a cost basis.
12. Control and regulation of hydro-electric utilities; making transmission lines common carriers of power.
13. Conditional approval of new land reclamation projects.

The Farmers Union Is in Favor of:

1. The issuance of non-interest bearing bonds, making same legal tender for all debts, and for the payment of cost of public improvements and to refinance agriculture and home-owners.
2. Increasing the inheritance tax; increase in federal income tax; state income tax. Reduction of property tax.
3. An investigation by Congress of the Federal Farm Board.
4. Amendments of the Agricultural Marketing Act to include price-fixing provisions.
5. Strong support of coöperative marketing associations.
6. Condemnation of present tariff act.
7. Independence of Philippines.
8. Action against Boards of Trade and Cotton Exchanges for alleged gambling in prices of farm products.
9. Graduated land tax.
10. Government operation of Muscle Shoals and other natural resources.
11. Prohibition of compulsory military training in any school supported by federal or state taxes.
12. Coöperative marketing courses in public schools.

TRADE WALLS

Here is what confronts the American exporter who hopes to sell his goods in Europe. Tariffs, quotas—even embargoes—have built a well-nigh insurmountable barrier around every important market.

—*The Business Week*

An Unarmed Army of Peace

A. HERBERT GRAY

ON February 26th a letter signed by Dr. Sheppard, Dr. Maude Royden and myself appeared in many of the daily papers asking for volunteers (men or women) who would offer to place themselves unarmed between the combatants in the Far East, in order to stop the fighting. At the same time we wrote to the Secretary General of the League of Nations offering ourselves for this service.

We were confronted by the fact that many ardent supporters of the League of Nations believed the time had come when the League ought to be willing to fight in order to secure peace. In view of the fact that our personal convictions would not allow us to engage in such a war, we had to ask ourselves what ought to be the contribution of Christian pacifists in such a situation. Our letter was the result. We are sure that pacifists ought always to be willing to make some contribution and that merely to refuse to fight is not enough. And we believe that willingness to purchase peace, even with our lives, is asked of us.

Obviously the practical difficulties are enormous. That is why we appealed to the League. The conditions of modern warfare would make it quite impossible for such an army as we suggested to get within miles of the actual scene of conflict, unless it was sent by the League or had the coöperation of one of the governments concerned. But inasmuch as under Article 18 the League has the power to use armed forces, it seems clear to us that the League could also use unarmed forces. We wish to make it clear to the League that such a force is at its disposal. We have been told that no government could send its citizens to certain death in such a way. But as governments have for centuries sent their citizens to certain death in millions, in war, we are not much moved by that contention.

Sir Eric Drummond replied to our letter by saying that, though he was far from regarding our offer as fantastic, he could not bring the matter before the League, as the League can only deal with matters brought to it by nations that are members of the League. We accordingly appealed to Sir John Simon, as our British representative at Geneva, to take the matter up, and have received a letter saying that it will receive his attention.

Meantime, the course of events in the Far East makes it pretty certain that our action will not be called for there.

The question therefore arises: What are we to do now?

We have received over 800 offers of coöperation. A number of ex-service men have volunteered. So hav a number of ministers; and large numbers of peopl who have not actually volunteered are deeply interested and anxious to help if practical ways of help can b offered them.

We cannot allow the matter to drop. We are there fore at present organizing the volunteers into geogra phical groups and are going on with the work of en rolling. We are creating a Peace army of two sets o persons:

1. Those who would offer to stand unarmed between the combatants in war, and
2. Those who would be willing to render constructive peace service wherever there is a call for it, or, if they could not themselves go, at least to help in sending others.

IT will have to be understood that those who volun teer are people who are willing to obey orders and submit to the discipline which is necessary to make any army effective. And it will also have to be clearly understood that those who volunteer renounce the righ of having any reprisals undertaken by the nations t which they belong in the event of their being killed.

Reprisals would defeat the whole object which w have in view, and would be wholly inconsistent with the spirit which has moved us.

Obviously such a movement as this necessitates an organization, and an organization is inevitably coming into being. It will be directed by a small group of per sons who, with one exception, at present live in Lon don. It will require funds, but we believe that funds will be forthcoming in proportion as people take thi whole matter with the seriousness for which it calls. I the movement induces people to offer their lives, w cannot believe the necessary funds will be withheld.

The office of the movement is at 1, Willoughb Road, Hampstead, N.W.3, London. General Crozie is giving us the invaluable help of his great experience and others are coming forward who are eager to assis us in getting the movement under way.

It is plain that such an army as we contemplate mus be an international force. That belongs to its ver genius. We are therefore taking steps to get in touc with those in other countries who are known to b friends of peace in order to discover what respons may be expected from those countries. When calls fo constructive peace service arise, it will fall to the mem bers of our army who are on the spot or in the neigh bourhood to initiate such service, and the help of th army from other quarters will have to be given as fa

as is possible. Contact with as many places in the world as possible is plainly most necessary; and if the time should come when the League will ask for the service of the army as a whole, it will be most necessary that the army should not have any national character. Indeed we hope that it may be possible to organize the sections of the army not in accordance with national boundaries, but perhaps along the lines of common language. We stand for something other than nationalism.

IT is too early yet to say whereunto this thing may grow. There are signs that it may develop a momentum of its own which will carry us all far, and possibly lead to things of which we did not dream. We are at least determined that it shall not be allowed to dissipate itself if we can prevent that. The bond of union in this army is not what we will refuse to do, but what we are willing to do. We are sure that the friends of peace must find positive and constructive policies through which to express themselves. Thousands who have held aloof from the peace movement because it seemed to them a poor and negative affair will probably be found eager to render positive service, if only the chance can be offered them. And we believe that the sacrifices demanded by the cause of peace will be found not less than those demanded by war. It would seem to me that so great an evil as war cannot possibly be overcome unless those who wish for peace are at least willing to rise to the level of the hundreds of thousands of brave men who in the last war went gladly and proudly to death in the faith that through that war, war would be ended.

It is time that Christians showed in some fresh and adventurous way that the power of action has not wholly deserted us. We have done everything that can be done through speech, and conference, and writing, and discussion. And war remains entrenched in the life of the world. We have *said* that there are always other and better methods of attaining necessary results than the crude methods of force. But only a few of us have learnt to put those other methods into operation. It is time that a mobile Christian force should come into existence ready to be sent anywhere and to express by its united action the faith that goodwill is a stronger thing than military power, and that the way of peace is the only road to the common good.

I have written all this in my own name. It must not be assumed that anything I have said commits anybody but myself. Our real leader is "Dick" Sheppard, and it was his genius that gave us our first lead. At present he is quite unable, on account of serious illness, to do anything in the way of control and direction. The rest of us are carrying on in the faith that we know his mind and are furthering his wishes. May God give him back to us in renewed vigour!

Three Billions Within Four Years

Let us suppose that there had been in force in this country since 1925 a national system of safeguards against the evils of unemployment similar to the scheme instituted in the men's clothing industry in 1923. The facts of the hypothetical case would be as follows:—The estimated total number of wage earners in the United States is 26,000,000. The estimated total labor bill of the wage-earning class is $26,650,000,000. Workers would have contributed 1½ per cent of their wages and employers three per cent of their pay roll to the unemployment insurance fund. The Federal Government, in conjunction with the states, would have provided the administrative costs of the fund, operated employment exchanges, and taken care of other relevant services. The total payments to the fund would have amounted to twelve hundred million dollars, which, together with interest on the money, would have brought the total to one and one-quarter billion dollars annually. The total floating unemployed population in a year of normal business activity (excepting the sick, the disabled, and the aged, who are entitled to special care) is about two million. On the assumption that the payment of benefits to these two million people is at the rate of about 30 per cent of their wages, for half of the time, the annual disbursement would have been $350,000,000, or less than 30 per cent of the fund. In four business years, 1925-1929, the fund would have accumulated more than three billion dollars. By January 1930, at the beginning of the severe part of the present depression, there would have been built up a public reserve for the mitigation of the distress of millions of unemployed Americans. It would have been almost as large as the entire Federal budget and would have just about equalled the proceeds of our whole export of merchandise.—*Sidney Hillman in the Atlantic Monthly.*

Big Business: "We may have bread lines but, thank God, no Dole."

—Art Young in The Unemployed

The Voice

M. WHITCOMB HESS

"And yet shall love itself be heard."

—*Sidney Lanier*

I

SEE the panoply;
Hear the fool's loud cheer;
Hear the rum-tum-tum
Of the drum
As they come—
Unending processions
Of fighting faces grim
From time's horizon dim
Down earth's street,
Dusty feet
Keeping time;
Defending possessions,
Defending obsessions:
Might is right;
To the victor belong the spoils.

Youth,
Dying for Moloch—
What is Truth?

(Out of the silence
A Voice is heard:
Peace I leave with you.
My peace I give unto you.)

II

"Turn ye, turn ye
To the inward man!"
Cries the preacher
In times of peace.
Girded with righteousness,
Nations grow strong;
When wisdom springs up
In the spirits of men,
Eternal strength
Overspreads.
New alarms.
Take up arms!
Cries the ruler
In times of war.
Right needs defenders;
Right must be armed.
In hoc signo vinces.

III

Lo, the last Caesar
Orders the sign
Of earlier soldiers
Than Constantine!
Onward through history
Who next shall dare
In His name declare:
Widen the highways,
Make safe the sky-ways—
Safe for death's aces
To drop bombs from;
Commandeer steamers,
Silence the dreamers,
The war lords come!
Shall a new century
Round to its rim
With nations still crying,
"Crucify Him!"

(Out of the chaos
A Voice is saying:
Heaven and earth
Shall pass away;
But my words
Shall not pass away.)

IV

Chorus, swaying
To a chant
Of the praying
Hierophant;
Turn your faces
From the West,
Read again
Earth's palimpsest;
Hear above
The roar of wrong,
Coming promises
Of song.

Sons of toil,
Envisioning
Ages long
Of missioning,
Sons of toil
In field and town,
Help Him bring
The kingdom down!
Sound above
The wail of woe,
Singing life's
Triumphant flow.

Music Master,
Taking all
For Thy vaster
Coronal,
When the melody
Dims and dies
Let the music makers rise!
Till the words of love shall hover,
Till the search at last is over.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

An Idealist Masters Realities

As I See It. By Norman Thomas. Macmillan Co. 173 pp. $2.00.

I AM one of those who regard Norman Thomas as the most appealing political leader of our times, and this collection of essays and addresses confirms me more strongly than ever in this judgment. Thomas believes that capitalism is ultimately doomed to disappear through the pressure of world-wide unemployment and through its failure to check, indeed through its encouragement of, nationalistic wars. He is concerned, however, that the transition to social salvation should be made "without catastrophe and with a minimum of confusion and disorder."

The major part of this book is a considered plea to both the workers and the intelligent and socially-minded members of the middle class to adopt the democratic methods and ideals of socialism. As a realist, Thomas does not shirk the great conflicts of interest between the working and the owning classes, but he does not wish this conflict to degenerate, as the communists wish, into outright class war. If it does, he believes it is infinitely more likely that the propertied classes with their compact strength will impose a fascist dictatorship than that the divided and lethargic workers will set up a communist regime. The only ultimate way to avert such disastrous internal strife and the concomitant foreign wars, according to the author, is to introduce a classless society, and this can only be done by making the tools of production the property of all.

One gathers that Thomas is personally inclined to believe that the blind drift of economic and social forces may well cause the transition to be made in a bloody and wasteful fashion, but he is determined to struggle to the last for the peaceful processes of democratic action through the state and other economic agencies. At the same time, he is quick to prick the false pacifism of those middle-class folk who, while placidly profiting from an unjust social order, nevertheless bitterly condemn the toads underneath the harrow if they swerve from the narrow path of Tolstoyan non-resistance. As Thomas says, "the critic of labor or revolutionary violence is an arrant hypocrite unless he does all that in him lies to open those paths of free, non-violent progress on which our hope depends."

One of the best chapters in the book is that on "Politics and Plunder in New York City." Here the idealist shows himself to be a thorough realist in his vivid awareness of how Tammany rules New York. It sells out the poor of the city collectively to the forces which exploit them and in return doles out individual favors and at times cracks the whip of political pressure. In an illuminating phrase he correctly labels the Republican machine in New York as the "jackal for the Tammany tiger." Long before the Seabury investigation, Thomas showed himself thoroughly conversant with the shocking state of the lower courts in New York and initiated many of the original charges which ultimately brought disclosure. The struggle which he has waged in New York has not only won him the admiration of tens of thousands who never before thought seriously of socialism, but it has also toughened his own fibre. American liberals and well-wishers would indeed do well to profit by his example. They can start cleaning up close at home and as they do so they will come to grips with the forces which oppose them and can test the practicality of their ideals on the hard terrain of local affairs.

Thomas's whole career is evidence of what one brave, sensitive and able man can do. The last decade was in many ways disgraceful for both its corruption and the vulgarity of its materialism. That in such a decade one man could grow in stature as Thomas has is indeed proof of the spark which still lies within men and of what may happen when idealists master realities.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

More Thunder Than Dawn

Thunder and Dawn. By Glenn Frank. Macmillan Co. $3.50.
America Faces the Future. Edited by Charles Beard. Houghton Mifflin Co. $3.00.

PRESIDENT FRANK has a versatile mind, a facile pen and a wide erudition in the analytic literature of our era. He writes very instructively and entertainingly on the various problems which confront modern civilization, although his style seems at times to be a little too bright. One suspects that his syndicated editorials, from which he has taken some of the matter in the book, have also affected the form. His analysis does not offer any new insights but it is an admirable review of the various diagnoses which have been made of our sick civilization. His final conclusion is that we suffer most of all from a maldistribution of wealth, which prevents the adequate consumption of the goods which are being produced in greater and greater profusion by the modern machine.

In trying to find a way to a more equitable distribution of wealth, Dr. Frank puts his trust in the political and economic leadership of the country—or rather, he tries to trust them. Either the industrial leaders must come to a recognition of the necessity for high wages, he argues, or political leaders must force them to divide wealth more equitably. If both types of leader fail us, there is nothing but catastrophe before us. Surely Dr. Frank must know that, whatever the importance of intelligent and disinterested leaders, no civilization ever equalizes its privileges without the creation of new political and economic power to set against the power of those who appropriate an undue share of society's wealth.

Failing to recognize this fact in his volume, Dr. Frank ends his book with a futile wish for a disinterested and intelligent leadership and passes over the whole problem of putting economic and political power in the hands of the workers so that they may, by the force of union and organization, frustrate and negate the tendency toward inequality which inheres in our present system

of private capitalism. Dr. Frank's chapter on Ford and Gandhi prompts the suspicion that his omissions are not due to purely pedagogical considerations. He is evidently trying to insinuate as much liberalism as possible into the minds of conservative readers. But he too seems to be under the delusion that Mr. Ford is first of all a humanitarian who is obsessed with the passion for making the machine serve the purposes of humanity. It is rather late in the day to propagate such illusions, even though the recent riot at Ford's did not take place until after this book was written. Dr. Frank is, in short, a liberal who takes a rather catastrophic view of our present civilization but who is too much the sentimental moralist to deal realistically with the economic factors which underlie the tragedy of our contemporary order.

In Dr. Beard's symposium we get the same emphasis upon the maldistribution of wealth and in addition a survey of the various programs for a planned economy which have been offered by Mr. Swope, the American Federation of Labor and by the various other contributors to this work. Only Mr. Beard himself deals adequately with the problem of the inherent contradiction between the institution of private property and the amount of social control which would be necessary for a planned economy. Many of the chapters in the book are reproduced from other sources. A particularly good chapter entitled "Down and Out in Detroit," by Charles R. Walker, would have improved President Frank's essay on Ford and Gandhi, could he have read it before writing his own. The chapter on "Prophets without Foresight," by Edward Angly, ought to be added to the recently published volume, *Oh Yeah,* so that we might have a complete record of the ignorant and dishonest optimism of business leaders in both the pre-depression and post-depression period. Mr. Angly deals with the period before the depression.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

History in the Making

The United States in World Affairs—An Account of American Foreign Relations, 1931. By Walter Lippman, in collaboration with William O. Scroggs. Harper and Brothers. $3.00.

THIS is the first volume of a series which the Council on Foreign Relations proposes to publish annually as a survey of American foreign relations during the preceding year. The present volume, apparently the work of a number of collaborators, contains first of all a review of the principal facts concerning the world-wide economic depression of 1931, with emphasis on the causes and effects thereof and the measures adopted in the Untied States and elsewhere to deal with it.

The policy of the United States with respect to such of those measures as were international in their character are naturally emphasized and evaluated. The conditions which led to the Hoover proposal for a moratorium of German debts and the reception of the proposal, the Hoover-Laval conversations, the suspension of gold payments by Great Britain and other countries, the various Latin American revolutions, and other outstanding events of the year are reviewed in turn. Two excellent, but all too brief, chapters prepared by Professors Berdahl and Gerig, summarizing the cooperation of the United States with the League of Nations on reduction of armaments and the Sino-Japanese affair, are among the best of the contributions to the volume. As one reads the story of the somewhat ineffective rôles which Gilbert and Dawes played in the meetings of the Council of the League when it was occupied with the Manchurian crisis, he is led to wonder whether a more positive and direct action on our part might not have deterred the Japanese from extending their aggressive operations to Shanghai.

One outstanding conclusion forces itself upon the reader of this survey; namely, that the problem of economic stabilization is international and cannot be solved by individual measures of states each acting independently of the others. On the other hand, the reader is impressed by the continued prevalence of a rampant economic nationalism in the world which has rendered futile the principal efforts in the direction of international economic cooperation. The experience and lessons of the present world-wide depression surely ought to convince the nations of the necessity of a broadminded and generous cooperation in economic as in other matters.

JAMES W. GARNER

The World's Danger Zone

The World's Danger Zone. By Sherwood Eddy. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 119 pp. $1.00.

IN this volume we have in brief compass the essential facts regarding the Sino-Japanese situation as it exists today. Mr. Eddy has long been familiar with the Far East and was in China and Japan when the events of which he writes took place. His account is thus based on first-hand information, and is clearly and vividly told. However, what makes Mr. Eddy's statement of especial value is his impartiality. The case for each country is stated fairly and adequately without undue shading of the picture on either side. Because of Russia's close connection with the issues at stake in Manchuria, Mr. Eddy gives his impressions of that country also. Again his picture is a balanced one, calling attention to the successes and the failures of the Soviet *régime.*

Mr. Eddy feels that the present situation will force China either into further militarization or into communism. Already the communists have control of a large section of the country. What their rule means is strikingly portrayed by testimony gathered from many different sources. For Japan, Mr. Eddy feels that the consequences of her present course, "carried to its logical conclusion," will be economic bankruptcy, war with Russia, and internal revolution. He does not maintain that these prospects are of an immediate nature, but that they are likely in the not distant future, if Japan keeps on as she is now doing.

Viewing the unstable European situation and the turbulent state of affairs in the Far East, Mr. Eddy feels that there is great danger that the whole world may again become involved in war. Hence the title of his book, and hence his interest in what may be done to keep the conflict from spreading. Mr. Eddy admits that "there is some basis for the cynical observation that the League has shown itself impotent and ineffective." However, he declares, "We must not be too ready to blame the League." Its weaknesses are those of the nations that compose it, and he adds, of those that stay out of it as well. The League has been "extremely patient with Japan, and its chief weapon has been public opinion and moral suasion; but it has never retreated from its position that the territorial integrity of China must be maintained." The League is still "far from powerless." There are three courses, as Mr. Eddy sees it, open to the League and to America: "moral suasion, diplomatic pressure, and economic sanctions." If the first two fail, the last should be applied. Mr. Eddy agrees with Senator Borah that there would be some risk in this action, but asks: "Is there not an even greater danger in

standing still in helpless inaction before this menace to world peace, not only in Asia but in Europe?" He answers his own question in these words: "While it is true that an economic boycott might lead to war, it is even more true that aggressive action on the part of Japan may lead to another world war which may drag us all into its flaming crater. For ourselves, we would advocate the efficacy of moral suasion, diplomatic pressure and, as a last resort, the economic sanction involving the ceasing of trade relations."

The book as a whole is a balanced, thoughtful presentation of one of the chief issues of the present time, an issue concerning which we may have to take definite action before many days pass. It is well that we should think it through clearly beforehand.

W. P. Mills

Light and Shadows

Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict. By Owen Lattimore. Macmillan Company. $3.00.

Manchuria, The Cockpit of Asia. By Colonel P. T. Etherton and H. Hessell Tiltman. Frederick A. Stokes Company. $3.00.

Japan Speaks on the Sino-Japanese Crisis. By K. K. Kawakami. Macmillan Company. $1.50.

PRECISELY such a book as Mr. Lattimore's *Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict* has been needed for some time, and the Social Science Research Council has just cause for pride in having made it possible for Mr. Lattimore to spend the time in Manchuria in 1929-30 needed to gather the data for this volume. The author scarcely more than mentions the treaties relating to Manchuria, and he gives none of the statistics of trade, railways and similar developments which are sprinkled so liberally through most of the writings about Manchuria in these times. In so far as he omits these matters, his book does not give a complete picture. But it is a really significant contribution to the literature on the Far East nevertheless, because it fits Manchuria into its own historical background and sets forth the complex effects of her relations with neighboring countries.

Among other things, Mr. Lattimore brings forward an interesting and illuminating new interpretation of the part which Manchuria and the other regions to the North of China have played in Chinese history. They have been, as he calls it, "the 'reservoir' area of the successive northern invaders of China." Chinese culture, too, in his opinion has penetrated north of the Great Wall in substantial part at least "as 'loot' brought back by the barbarians themselves"—the barbarians who invaded and ruled China at various times. These northern regions, he points out, for centuries have exercised a powerful influence in domestic politics but have been a cause of weakness and confusion in China's foreign relations—an analysis which applies, of course, to the immediate conflict.

Mr. Lattimore by no means overlooks the fact that Manchuria is a part of the whole Far East, so that neither its past nor its present can be understood except in relation to the whole sweeping tide of influences which have come into play as a result of Western expansion into that part of the world. The contrast among the attitudes and methods of the old China, those of Westernized Japan and those of Russia is analyzed with extraordinary clarity. Some will be inclined to feel, as I do, that Mr. Lattimore neglects the new spirit in China somewhat, but it remains true that this new spirit has not as yet penetrated into Manchuria to anything like the extent it has into the Yangtze Valley or South China. Altogether, Mr. Lattimore's is among the comparatively few books on the Far East that are of permanent importance.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of either of the other books. The work of Colonel Etherton and Mr. Tiltman shows all the earmarks of hasty "journalism," and obviously was simply thrown together out of material gathered in a hurried scramble by men who had little if any first-hand knowledge of Manchuria. The main facts as to treaties and trade are there; but so is the typical "white man's burden" attitude—with Japan doing the noble work of keeping the trains running on time. Besides preventing a careful analysis, the haste in getting the material together has led to sometimes amusing contradictions and errors in figures. It is unfortunate, for the sake of real understanding, that the authors should have been led into taking seriously the alleged "Tanaka Memorial" of 1927, which they reproduce almost in full. This declaration has been circulating in various translations from a Chinese document which has been fairly conclusively shown to be a clumsy forgery. This inclusion does not matter much, however, for the book, on its merits, will be forgotten about as quickly as the rest of the "hot news stories" about Manchuria have been and will be.

Mr. Kawakami has turned his facile pen to a perfervid eulogy of Japan. He spoils his own case, however, by pouring so much whitewash over what his country has done that the resulting picture is utterly unconvincing. He would have his readers believe that Japan is the noble and completely disinterested "savior of China" from the Western villains who would swallow her up. No nation ever has been as completely angelic as Mr. Kawakami makes Japan out to be. The sad part of it all is that there really is a good deal to be said by way of explanation of what Japan has done in China in the past forty years—explanation which would at least help to a better understanding of what the real difficulties in the situation are and of how they might be met. There is much to be said on Japan's side. But Mr. Kawakami paints the picture in such gorgeously glowing colors that even the casual reader must feel that it is not true to life.

Grover Clark

Survey of Japan

Japan: An Economic and Financial Appraisal. By Harold G. Moulton. The Brookings Institution, Washington. $4.00.

FEW countries, it is safe to say, have been presented with such an admirably complete and impartial, and yet compact, economic and financial balance-sheet as this survey represents for Japan. In one brief volume the panorama of sixty years of Japanese economic achievement is shown, attention focused on present-day problems, and broad lines of policy laid down for the future. The whole is buttressed with an inexhaustible array of statistical material, secured largely through the cordial assistance of the late Junnosuke Inouye, variously Governor of the Bank of Japan and Finance Minister while the survey was in progress.

This volume minimizes neither Japan's accomplishments nor its potentialities. Since 1870 the Japanese population (now 65,000,000) has doubled while attaining higher living standards. Here lies the pragmatic justification of the new economic dispensation in Japan. The achievement is based on the erection of a modernized industrial structure which, combined with its agricultural resources (especially silk), has enabled Japan to forge continuously ahead in the marts of international trade. It has been won at the cost of a relatively low public debt, the burden of which, however, is somewhat increased by the relatively large proportion held abroad.

Mr. Moulton, furthermore, is not unduly pessimistic over Japan's economic future. Nevertheless, he offers several stiff warnings. No economic advances of the next 30 years can be expected to cover the current rate of population increase. Direct checks must be employed, or else a lowered standard of living will inevitably result. In 1929, moreover, Japan was again a debtor nation (after its war prosperity) to the extent of nearly a billion *yen,* and its international accounts were barely at balance. To maintain this status, to say nothing of bettering it, the two imperative necessities were drastic government economy and continued expansion of the export trade. One does not have to guess at how well this double aim has been accomplished since September, 1931.

It is more than a little disingenuous to state, as Mr. Moulton does, that Japan acquired Kwantung Province on a 99-year lease as a result of the Russo-Japanese War. After all, the Twenty-One Demands did intervene. There are few such faults in this book, however, and they do not affect its real worth. Taken in conjunction with *Japan's Economic Position,* by John E. Orchard, it leaves little untouched in the field of Japan's recent economic history.

T. A. Bisson

A Plea to Dreamers

Social Perplexities. By Allan A. Hunter. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith. $1.50.

IT IS a tragic thing when an artist is so modest that he finds it necessary to support his rare insights with other people's crude drawings and mechanical straight-line proofs. *Social Perplexities* is a great book, not for its own worth, but because it re-introduces a gifted artist. In the places where Allan Hunter is himself, drawing people and problems as he sees them with his keen and purposeful power of observation and interpretation, the book reaches the heights. But one is a little irritated when he descends from his rightful position as an artist to tell you what Professor Shotwell or Henry Ford has to say along the lines of his thesis.

Social Perplexities holds modern life in its various phases up to the haunting star-light of Jesus' idea of reality. Kagawa, Schweitzer and Gandhi are called upon to give a modern interpretation in action of this undying idea. The author's plea is for an integrated world, in which artificial barriers will be broken down by people who have been captured by a unifying purpose. In developing this theme, he takes us into the realms of international relations, economic organization, racial problems, marriage, religious institutions, and the problems of youth and age.

Sensitiveness, personal devotion, adventurous living—these constitute the basic hopes for a new social order. Mr. Hunter sees little hope in the kind of activity directed to this end which does not exhibit these qualities. He is so practical in his interpretation of his thesis that the average radical, hoping for the new social order, must see the implication of his message; namely, that the new social order is *here* just in so far as it is being practiced by its honest adherents. It will never come any closer than its dreamers live it. "We would like to think that had we only two loaves of bread we would sell one in exchange for a hyacinth. But are there not times when one would better be bartering his hyacinth to get a neighbor bread?"

He is a satirist so subtle that his humor takes no more than a hyphenated word or a phrase. "As married mates," he says, with matchless brevity, "we have not been graduated from infantile awkwardness." In a sentence he denounces, debunks and tenderly ridicules "color insanity."

For its depth of thought, its brilliance of expression, and its invigorating tone, and for its honesty and closeness to reality, this book is to be recommended.

Chester Williams

International Organization

The Unseen Assassins. By Norman Angell. Harper and Brothers. $3.00.

The New British Empire. By W. Y. Elliott. McGraw-Hill Book Co. $5.00.

BOTH of these books deal with the organizing of international relations. Sir Norman Angell gives us a psychological study of the problem which has formed the main theme of his writings ever since he tried to open our eyes to the Great Illusion before the War. He analyzes those assumptions and beliefs which prevent us from seeing the visible, and tries once more to emancipate us from the superstition of the sovereign national state. Professor Elliott studies one particular example of international organization—the modern post-War British Empire. He asks whether it is fitted to solve for its members their complex problems of national, class and racial cooperation; and he suggests that we should regard it as pioneering in a new world order—an order based on democracy and pledged to more or less socialistic humanitarian experiments and to guarantees of international security and peace.

"It is a very simple truth which I am trying to state in these pages; yet it is one which evades us or which we evade. . . . We do not desire to create social or economic evils, to impose injustice and bring about war, but we apply policies in which those results are inherent because we fail to see the implications of the policies. Those unperceived implications are the Unseen Assassins of our peace and welfare." Such is the opening of Sir Norman Angell's argument, and the rest of his book is taken up with the exposure of these unseen assassins. The villain in the piece is the national state. John Smith's education has made him aware that, for the maintenance of peace and order in the relations of individuals with one another, courts and police and all the mechanism of government are necessary. But he fails to see that international society requires a similar organization. "The basis of all society is the assumption that it is better to combine to fight nature than to fight each other. . . . Say to John Smith: 'Men are quarrelsome, avaricious, one-sided, quite incapable of judging their own case; therefore let us abolish the courts and have no laws,' and he will see the inconsequence in a moment." Yet he doesn't see the inconsequence when the same argument is applied to the slightly less familiar case of the relations of nations with one another. We must change his education so that his mind will be open to the simple necessity of international organization for the achievement of the peace and welfare that he desires.

Professor Elliott presents the British Empire as "an attempt to stabilize the sphere of order under capitalist control by international agreement, with hopes of bringing about nationalist cooperation through the democratic method of conferences." He discusses how this cooperation is working out, first among the self-governing parts of the Empire, then in the relations between the Imperial power and its dependencies such as India, and finally in the relations between Great Britain and those countries which lie in "the lion's shadow"—Egypt, Persia, and the mandates. "The enduring success of the new British Empire will depend on the

success with which it can lay the specters of nationalism and class war that still walk so openly abroad." He admits a doubt as to whether, when the evidence is all in, the assertion of a faith in the future of this Empire does not require a religious conviction rather than a scientific judgment. A citizen of one of its Dominions is bound to confess that most of the efforts which we are witnessing at present for its closer organization suggest the atmosphere of the religious revival rather than the scientific conference.

The great contribution of Professor Elliott's book is its detailed study of how capitalism actually works in the international relations of the British peoples. The essence of the British Empire from the English point of view is that it is a profitable field for the investment of capital. When particular parts of the Empire, such as Canada, develop independent capitalistic structures of their own, difficulties arise. The nationalism of the Dominions and of other parts of the Empire is largely an expression of their business organization. It seems to me that Sir Norman Angell's teaching would be much more effective towards the realization of an international order if he would set himself to expose the particular capitalist interests which find it profitable to exploit and encourage the nationalist presuppositions of John Smith.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

Climbing Out of the Slough

The Way Out of Depression. By Hermann F. Arendtz, A.M., Ph.D. Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.00.

New Roads to Prosperity. By Paul M. Mazur. The Viking Press. $2.00.

Does Trade Need Anti-Trust Laws? By Alexander Levene, in collaboration with George J. Feldman. Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc. $1.00.

THE depression, as Dr. Arendtz sees it, is due primarily to falling prices, which result from the inadequate annual production of gold. The failure of the gold standard to maintain an even price level has had a paralyzing effect upon industry. The falling price of gold is the one cause that is universal, affecting all countries on the gold standard alike. It is due not to any supposed general overproduction of goods, but to an annual underproduction of gold—a situation which is not likely to be rectified, since no new gold mining areas are in sight or are likely to be found. Having discovered the fundamental cause of the trouble, Dr. Arendtz finds the remedy clear and obvious. An international monetary commission should establish bimetallism at the ratio of 30 to 1. In the opinion of the reviewer, bimetallism at this ratio would not only stop deflation, but would lead to a steady inflation for some time to come. The proposal requires international action. Any single nation attempting it would soon find itself on a silver standard, as was the case with our own country from 1790 to 1834.

Mr. Mazur's study of the crisis and some of the ways out lacks the precision as to cause and effect which is so notable in Dr. Arendtz's treatment. Mr. Mazur is an eclectic, putting forth a variety of causes and remedies; even the quacks receive puzzled consideration. Since the main cause of depression is underconsumption, he tackles it directly, favoring a national economic council which would correlate production and consumption. A bank with two and a half billion dollars of funds should be set up, says Mr. Mazur, with the aid of the government, to serve as a rediscount agency for mortgage paper and to render a definite stimulus to the building of homes. The Federal Reserve Banks should be enabled to loan on good security, not accepted at the present time. Corporations should adopt the five day week, and they should pay out a larger part of their profits in dividends, lessening the amount of plant and equipment. This would reduce production and increase consumption.

Mr. Levene, with the aid of Mr. Feldman, comes to the conclusion that our anti-trust laws are a mistake and that we should get rid of them gradually, substituting government control for competition such as prevails at the present time. Agreements to control production and prices within an industry should be made legal and should have the approval of an agency like the Federal Trade Commission. The authors assume that a combination unhampered by trust laws will adjust production to consumption in an intelligent and effective way. Against this we have the experience of German cartels, which have made as many mistakes as unregulated competitive industry in our own country. Furthermore, there are English authorities who think that England would benefit from a set of anti-trust laws such as our own. Such criticisms of the doctrine of planning through combination and regulation are, of course, not final and conclusive, but they do raise important questions.

HERBERT F. FRASER

WE RECOMMEND

Social Economic Planning in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Industrial Relations Association, Room 600, 130 East 22nd Street, New York City. Contains four reports presented by Soviet representatives at the World Social Economic Congress at Amsterdam.

The Government in Labor Disputes. By Edwin E. Witte. McGraw-Hill Company. $4.00. An elaborate and authoritative history of our government practices in relation to industrial disputes. Especially recommended for persons who are still laboring under the illusion that the system of individualism can be preserved in a complex industrial society.

Roads to Knowledge. Edited by William Allan Neilson. Norton. $3.75. Many an alumni magazine is besieged with wistful queries such as, "How can I keep on learning, now that I am through with college?" President Neilson has gathered a dozen stimulating papers by as many experts, on various fields of modern culture.

Financial Condition and Operations of the National Government, 1921-1930. By W. F. Willoughby. The Brookings Institution, Washington. $3.00. An extremely useful handbook of statistical data relative to governmental expenditures. One table reveals the receipts and expenditures for every year since 1791. As late as 1843 the total expenses of the Federal Government were less than 12 million dollars, and in 1836 the national debt was less than 40 thousand dollars.

Society, Its Structure and Its Changes. By R. M. McIver. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith. $5.00. One of America's leading and sanest sociologists surveys and analyses the cultural, political and economic problems of society. The book reveals a ripe scholarship and a searching mind. It agrees with most current academic sociology, however, in underestimating the crisis in which modern society stands. Professor McIver's criticism of deterministic social and economic theories and his detection of ethical overtones in the theories of Marx and Veblen are acute and penetrating.

CORRESPONDENCE

From 135 Missionaries in Japan

THE following statement has grown out of repeated conferences by a group of American missionaries in Tokyo, and has received the endorsement of 135 missionaries throughout the country. Although the swiftly moving events of the past few weeks might make certain changes in wording desirable, the statement is issued as embodying timeless principles which are the permanent convictions of the signers:

Our first word must be one of confession. We are citizens of a country that has at times furthered its own national interests by force, and by disregard of the rights and feeling of other peoples. Having by formal treaty renounced war, we are even now imperilling the new processes of peace by spending much more in preparation for future wars than any other nation; by the manoeuvers of a great fleet in Pacific waters; by supplying munitions to other countries; and by widely published discussions in committees of the United States Senate looking toward vastly increased expenditures for the navy. We readily admit that the sins of our nation in the past render any protest we might make against the conduct of another one open to the charge of inconsistency, if not of hypocrisy.

We deeply regret any agitation in America for the independent application of an economic embargo against Japan. While we recognize that many of its advocates have been prompted only by a desire to promote peace, we are convinced that the agitation has already hindered peace and is being used effectively in Japan by the advocates of a strong military policy. We believe that such action by America alone, far from promoting peace, would almost certainly cause war. Without necessarily renouncing the use of economic pressure by all the nations against an aggressor as provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations, we believe in the present circumstances that the threat of an embargo against Japan only serves more fully to unify Japanese public opinion in support of the military policies.

We believe that Japan has a fair claim for peace and order in the pursuit of legitimate economic opportunities in Manchuria and of any proper commercial and industrial undertakings she may have in China. We plainly see, too, how difficult this has become under the present disordered conditions in that country. Thus far we are one with what we take to be the general trend of Japanese opinion, but we dissent as to the method by which these interests should be protected. The policy of attempting alone and by military means a solution of such delicate international problems is one from which we are compelled to dissociate ourselves. We view its adoption in any country with profound grief and apprehension.

There is a better way. Since the World War grim necessity has combined with Christian idealism in drawing the nations of the earth away from the old method of arms toward the new processes of conference and law. By slow, painful steps a technique for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means has been set up. It is still new and largely untried, but in principle, at least, the governments of the world are committed to it, and its universal adoption awaits only the growing pressure of public opinion in every country. Since we as Christians have a conviction of the righteousness of this method, we feel the inescapable responsibility of doing everything in our power to promote the public opinion to support it.

Much as we deplore the recent adoption of the old policy of force by Japan, we regret still more the scarcity of constructive discussion and criticism with regard to it. The country is being denied the leadership of some of her most enlightened minds at this time when it is sorely needed. We are keenly conscious of the difficulties in which our fellow-Christians are placed as a minority group open to frequent misunderstandings from society at large, and we offer them our deepest sympathy. We are, however, eager to avoid repeating the bitter experience of the churches of the West, which, since they failed to raise the prophetic voice of judgment in the day of world conflict, were later unable to find the word of reconciliation for the peoples of the world.

As we face the long future in Asia, so fraught with possibilities of good or ill for the human race, we renew our pledge of faith in what we believe to be the way of Jesus as the only wise policy in this present situation, and we call upon our fellow-Christians in Japan and everywhere to join in that testimony to our common faith in the power of good-will, which alone shall lead the world toward a better day.—*Signed by 135 American missionaries in Japan, March 25, 1932.*

Too Black a Picture?

AS a teacher of international relations, I was much interested in Sherwood Eddy's article on the "War in the Far East" in your April number. Seldom have the writers of popular articles on that topic analyzed so well the elements of the situation, particularly the attitude of the Japanese, who have suffered from the thwarting of their natural ambitions for more than a generation. Nor would many students of international affairs quarrel with Mr. Eddy's warnings as to the possible danger of the continuance of Japanese military activity in eastern Asia.

In his eagerness, or anxiety, to make the case as threatening as possible, however, Mr. Eddy has presented some improbabilities which do not aid us in gaining a clear and rational view of the crisis. The hypothetical war with Russia which the present policy, according to Mr. Eddy, is making inevitable, would, in his opinion, place 65 million Japanese in the field against 165 million Russians, 20 million Koreans and the 400 million Chinese whom Japan is presumably fighting at present. Such a statement, or suggestion, goes far to destroy the value of what Mr. Eddy has so ably said earlier in the article and to cast doubt upon its validity.

First, who would pretend that Japan's actions have called forth, or can, in the immediate future, call forth the united opposition of the Chinese nation? Next, how can Mr. Eddy be so sure of the purpose or even of the success of Russia's second Five Year Plan, as to believe that her economic gains would be utilized for the arming and training of not only Russians, but Chinese and Koreans as well, in their war of extermination against Japan? Would the Koreans fight Japan as allies of Russia and China? Then again, population is not the final determining factor in any such contest; it is the well-organized, militarized, and industrialized nation which makes the best showing in war.

Japan is probably faced by one of the three following situations: (1) continuance of the present unhappy state of affairs, which she seems sufficiently armed and united to maintain, both in the field and diplomatically; (2) settlement of the dispute, with the aid of the League, perhaps by a compromise involving the retention of Manchuria by Japan as a sphere of influence and the complete relinquishing of part, or all, of her Shanghai winnings; or (3) the implication of some other power in the dispute, a situation which Japan has earnestly, I believe, tried to avoid, and

which is to be regarded as a remote eventuality. Even if worst came to worst, and a large Far Eastern War actually broke out, it is hard to believe that Japan would necessarily lose. We must realize that today Japan is one of the great military powers of the world, that Soviet Russia is not imperialistic, and that China is apparently more disunited by Japan's recent actions than she was in the days of peace. What becomes of the great Asiatic coalition against Japan when we consider some of these factors? Still, it is true, the situation is one to arouse deep concern, and one which all truly internationally-minded persons wish to see terminated quickly.

Garden City, N. Y. COURTNEY ROBERT HALL

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Conference on Militant Pacifism

THE Third Annual Conference of the War Resisters League will be held from Friday evening, May 6, through Sunday afternoon, May 8, at Northover Camp, Bound Brook, N. J. Among the speakers scheduled are Heywood Broun, Allan Knight Chalmers, Kapila Khandvala, Chester S. Williams, Edward C. M. Richards, Dorothy Detzer and John Nevin Sayre. The Conference fee will be $3.00 ($1.00 to students). Reservations or requests for information concerning train schedules and accommodations should be addressed to Jessie Wallace Hughan, 171 West 12 Street, New York, N. Y., or may be obtained by telephoning Intervale 9-7688.

Summer Study in Mexico

THE University of Guadalajara, in the state of Jalisco, Mexico, will hold for the first time in its long history a Summer Session, established primarily to afford foreigners the opportunity to study the Spanish language and Mexican history, art and social conditions. The courses will be given during a period of five weeks, from June 29 to August 13. Afternoons have been left free as far as possible, and various excursions are planned to nearby points of historical and natural interest.

Complete information as to admission requirements, courses offered, estimated expenditures, and social activities may be obtained by writing to the Secretary of the Summer Session, University of Guadalajara, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico.

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JULY 3 - 23

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Military Duties

The activities of the Officers' Reserve Corps serve as an antidote to communistic propaganda and tendencies. Through its efforts this corps is able to combat those who are crying for pacifism and disarmament, those who object to all forms of military training, and, in particular, those who are trying to prevent military training in the colleges where it is compulsory.—*Major General Harry G. Bishop, in The Reserve Officer, Volume 8, Number 7, November* 1931.

A Minnow May Seem a Whale

It is somewhat startling to those who know him well to consider Jim Watson, the Indiana politician, as affecting the affairs of the world and dealing with the destinies of the human race. It is no more remarkable, however, when all three are accurately measured, than that Harding and Coolidge should have been President, and the latter even now be the most popular man in the country, regarded generally by the masses, and by some really intelligent people, as great. The reason, of course, is total lack of popular appreciation that a combination of politics, prosperity, and propaganda can make a minnow seem a whale.—*Frank R. Kent in The Atlantic Monthly, February 1932.*

The Imperial Mind

Depend upon it we cannot deal properly with the solution of this problem and do our duty by our Indian fellow-subjects without the restoration and maintenance of prestige. . . . We must remind Indian politicians that there is no binding pledge to grant full responsible government; nothing more than the declaration by Parliament of a conditional purpose; that we cannot even contemplate the establishment in India of an executive responsible to the Legislature at any rate until we are quite satisfied that these conditions can be secured; that the disorders and divisions in India must have weight with us in determining how far she is fit for constitutional advance; and that in the meantime we shall shrink from no step, however distasteful to us, which is necessary to maintain order.—*Lord Salisbury in The Times Weekly Edition, January 7, 1932.*

Practice Versus Theory

For forty years or more there has not been a President, Republican or Democrat, who has not talked against government interference and then supported measures adding more interference to the huge collection already accumulated. . . . The Republicans came along in 1921 and informed the country that they were going back to normalcy, were determined to take the Government out of business. Well, did they repeal a single one of the important measures enacted during the eight years of President Wilson's rule? It would be entertaining to see the sanhedrin of the United States Chamber of Commerce trying to make out a list of laws repealed in the name of normalcy and still more entertaining to watch that august body compiling a list of additional laws interfering with "the natural course of business" enacted since 1921. —*Charles A. Beard, in Harper's Magazine, December, 1931.*

The French Brand of Jingoism

At present I am reading the French papers daily, and, as if on one string, they play in every issue on hatred of Germany. A few days ago *Le Figaro,* for example, published a large map on its first page purporting to show what was intended against France. Germany had advanced westward over nearly a third of French territory. England had become possessed of all the sea-coast along the Channel and on the Bay of Biscay except the point of Brittany, which was shown as belonging to the United States for a naval station. The Mediterranean coast had been taken by Spain, and France was depicted as shrunk to a little interior country with only a corridor to the sea at one point.—*James Truslow Adams in The Atlantic Monthly, January 1932.*

D.A.R. Magazine Please Reprint!

I refer to the myth of the American Revolution, long accepted as sober history, which modern historical scholars have been busy exploding, much to the indignation of one hundred per cent Americans, though on the whole decidedly to the satisfaction of one hundred per cent Britishers. . . . The revolt from England, we now know, was no spontaneous uprising of a whole people in behalf of human rights. It was, on the contrary, the work of an aggressive minority, capable in leadership and strong in organization, who managed to carry with them a more numerous body of less active persons. A large minority of the colonists, probably about one-third, detested the Revolution, remained loyal to King and Empire, and suffered loss of property and every species of indignity at the hands of their exasperated and often envious neighbors. No account of the Revolution which does not represent it as a civil war, involving confiscation of property and social upheaval, is even measurably true to facts.—*Robert Livingston Schuyler, Political Science Quarterly, March, 1932.*

Read It and Shiver!

There is a very considerable pacifist movement in our country. A large number of honest but, in my opinion, misguided people believe it possible in this twentieth century to bring about that permanent peace which has been the dream of all ages, but which the Prince of Peace himself failed to achieve two thousand years ago. There is in war itself something beyond mere logic and above cold reason. There is still something in war which in the last analysis man values above social comforts, above ease, and even above religion. It is the mysterious power that war gives to life, of rising above mere life. We all join the chorus of the pack, and chase the distant rainbow of permanent peace, but those of you who served your country in the World War must know that there is nothing left for you in life, as your days wane, that will ever seem quite so much worth while. You are destined in spite of the non-partisan, non-political character of the American Legion, to play a paramount role in American politics for more than a generation, to receive high political honors individually, and within the next fifteen years to dominate both the State and Federal Governments.—*Major General James G. Harbord, before the Syracuse Convention of the American Legion.*

Will Manchuria be another Belgium?

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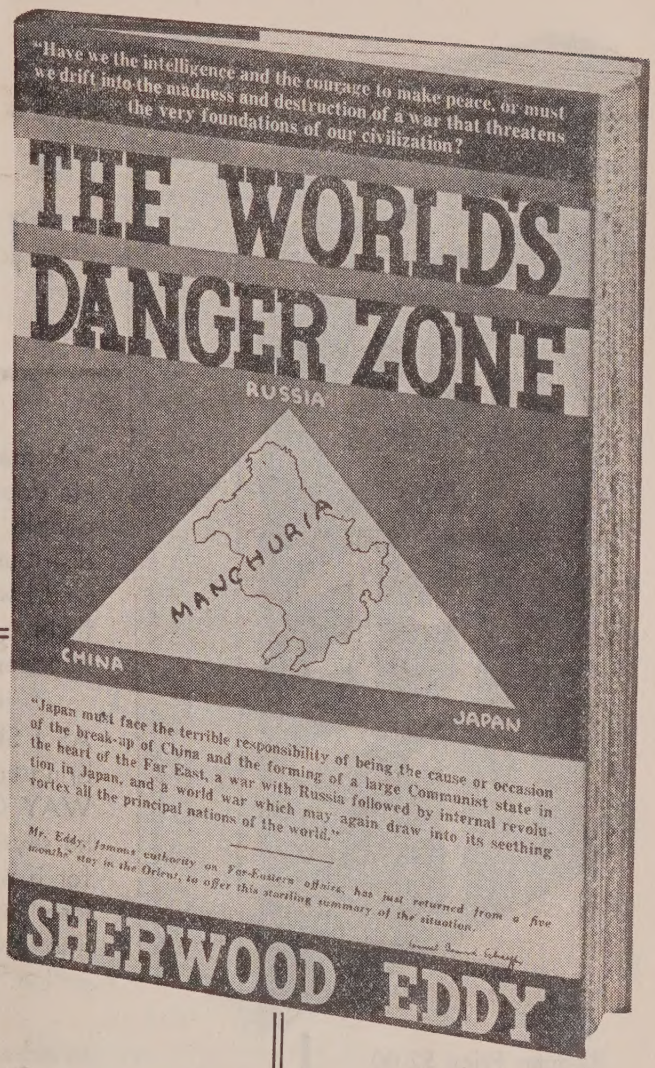
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